

A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE VNIV. ST.
CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS
against the ENGLISH at

AMBINA

*In the EAST-INDIES, by the Ne-
therlandish GOVERNOR and
COUNCELL there.*

Also the copy of a Pamphlet, set forth first
in Dutch and then in English, by some
Netherlander; falsely intitled

A TRUE DECLARATION OF THE
Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES, in
the Pinace called the HARE, which ar-
rived at PORE in June, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

By the English East-INDIA Company.

THE THIRD IMPRESSION.

Published by AUTHORITY.

LONDON,

Printed by G. Purslowe for Nathaniel Newberry, 1633.

A TAVE
NOTION
OF THE VINTST
SERVANT AND VINTST

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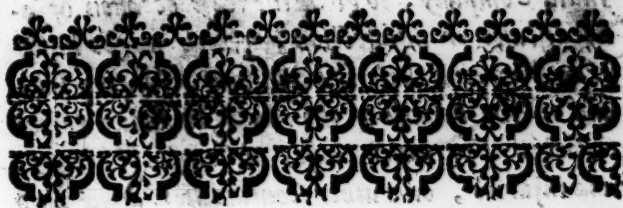
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TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader, thou mayst
(perhaps) wonder why this
Relation of the businesse of
Amboyna, so many months
since taken upon the oathes
and depositions of our people
that came thence, and pre-
sented to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Pri-
vie Councell; cometh now at last to the Presse,
and was not either sooner published, or altoge-
ther suppressed. The truth is, the English East-
India Company have ever been very tender of
the ancient amity and good correspondence hold
between this Realme and the Netherlands, and
have been very loth, by divulging of the private
injuries done them by the Netherlands East-

India

India Company, to giue the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply grow betwene these two Nations, for the sake and on the behalfe of the two Companies respectively. For which cause, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies done unto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, haue beene as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heapes of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the yeere 1619. and only to point at the generall heads of those committed since that Treaty, and grossely contrary to the maine intent, and expresse words and disposition of the same: first, in the point of hostility, the invasion of the Islands of Lantore and Polaroone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the same Islands by force; the razing and demolishing of the English Forts; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently haue dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rockes; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carkases away in Irons: secondly, in the point

point of their usurped sovereignty; their taking upon them the Conscience of controversies between the English and the Indians; for waters passed farre without the compasse of the Netherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences therupon by plain force, seizing of the English Companies goods; fining, imprisoning, stocking, yea, whipping our people at a post in the open Market-place, and after, washing them with vinegar and salt: thirdly, in point of partnership with the English; there putting great sums to the common account, which were disbursed to the private and sole behoofe of the Dutch; giuing great Presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making warre for the enlargement of their owne dominion, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: Nevertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselves with informing his Majestie and his Honourable Privie Councell with their grievances privately in writing, to the end that necessary reliefe and reparation might be obtained; without publishing anything to the world in print, thereby to stirre up or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise tyed in so many reciprocal

reciprocal obligations. And the same course they
 have hitherto holden also in this crying businesse of
 Amboyna, only offering to the Manes of their
 murdered Countrymen, Factors and Kinsfolks,
 their effectuall endeavours in a dutifull course un-
 to his Majesty, for justice for their innocent blood,
 and reparation of the honour of the Nation herein
 interessed. In which their wonted way they were
 so constant, that they could not be driven out of the
 same by the contrary course of some of the other
 party, that not glutted nor mollified with the blood
 of these innocents, nor with all the other sufferings
 of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet
 in print in the Netherlands Language, not only in
 justification of this barbarous butchery, but with-
 all in disgrace of the English Nation, and the lawes
 and justice of the same. But behold now further,
 the same Pamphlet, being called-in by an Edict of
 the States generall, was yet afterwards translated
 and printed in English, and dispersed even in this
 Realme it selfe, to braue and disgrace us at our own
 doores, and in our own language. This, no English
 patience can beare: the blood of the innocent cries
 out against it: the honor of the nation suffereth in
 it. Wherefore the English East-India Company
 is hereby enforced, contrary to their desire and cus-
 tome, to haue recourse also to the Presse, to main-

To the Reader.

aine the reputation of those their Countrey-men
and servants, that lost their liues unjustly, and to
acquaint the world with the naked truth of this
cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a
fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty conveian-
ces of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients
the Governour & Council (so termed) of Amboyna.

Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader,
with the reasons why this businesse was no sooner
published in print, it remaineth yet further, that
thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which
common reason will suggest unto thee. Without
doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true pa-
triot of thine owne Country, and a well-willer of
the Netherlands (as wee presume and wish thee
to be,) thou wilt wonder how it cometh to passe,
that our Nation, which hath not been wont to re-
ceiue such disgraces, should now be so weak & un-
provided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities,
and to be so grossly o-vertopped, outraged & vilified
there: as also thou wilt no lesse admire, that any of
the Netherlands Nation which hath receiued such
and so many fauours and supports from hence, and
held so good and ancient correspondence with our
Nation, should now offer and commit such odious co-
tumelies on Englishmen, their partners & allies by
speciall Treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thy
selfe,

selfe, if thou but consider the difference and de-
 signe of the English and Dutch Companies trading
 in the Indies, appearing by their severall courses and
 practises respectively. The English being subjects of
 a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne,
 and is therewith content, without affecting of new
 conquests; have aimed at nothing in their East-
 India trade, but a lawfull and competent gain by
 commerce and trafficke with the people of those
 parts. And although they have in some places
 builded Forts, and fortified some strength; yet that
 hath not been done by force or violence, against
 the good-will of the Magistrates or people of the
 countrey; but with their desire, consent and good
 liking, for the security only of the Trade, and upon
 the said Magistrate and peoples voluntary yeel-
 ding themselves under the obedience and sove-
 raignty of the Crown of England; their owne an-
 cient lawes, customes and priviledges, neuer thelesse
 reserved. Further, the same English had undoub-
 ted confidence in the Netherlands Nation there
 also trading, especially being lately conjoynd with
 them in the strict alliance and sociall confederacy
 of the yeere 1619. and therefore attended nothing
 from them, but the offices of good affection and
 partnership. Upon these grounds, the English
 Company made their equipages answerable only to
 a course

a course of commerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Netherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of afaire & free commerce, invaded diners Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By reason whereof, as they were accordingly provided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike provision, as also of places of Rendezvous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English aswell as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts and Soldiers, imployed upon these designes, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the Trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Adventurers in their Company affirme) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and adventure, they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the ycer, 1619.

To the Reader.

yet they saw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, unlesse they utterly draue the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to haue the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain & promote their conquests, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefit of their trading. Which unlesse they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the English, bring to passe, it is easie to be judged by those that understand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returnes hereafter should proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the main stock and estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yearly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made us unprovided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their seruants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firme affection between these two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their neereſt allies and best-deseruing friends. Farewell.



A TRVE
RELATION
OF THE LATE VN-
IVST, CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST

the *English* at AMBOYNA in the *East-Indies*,
by the *Neatherlanders* there, upon a for-
ged pretence of a Conspiracy
of the said *English*.



FTER the fruitlesse issue of
two severall Treaties: the
first *An. 1613. in London*;
and the other, *An. 1615.*
at the *Hage in Holland*, tou-
ching the differences be-
twene the *English* and
Dutch in the *East-Indies*:
at last by a third Treaty,
Anno 1619. in London,
there was a full and solemn composition made of all
the said differences and a faire order set for the future
proceeding.

ceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the Hollanders in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Moluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the Spaniards and Portugals, and in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therefore should enjoy two third parts, of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by taxes and impositions, to bee levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East-India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Moluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present, small occasion to speake further; but the last will prove the Scene of a sad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Island lying neere *Seran* of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name also to some other smal Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves, for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Company for their part had planted five severall Factories, the head and *Rendevous* of all, at the Town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriel Tomerson*, their Agents, with directions over the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Cambello* and *Lobo*, upon a point of the neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Vpon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of
Seran,

Seran, the Hollanders have foure Forts: the chief of al is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong having foure Points or Bulwarks with their curtains, and upon each of these Points, six great peeces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of brasfe. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea; and the other is divided from the land with a ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deep, and ever filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about 200. Dutch souldiers, and a company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwaies a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for so they cal the free Natives) in the Town, ready to serve the Castle at an houres warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) divers good ships of the Hollanders, aswell for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of traffick; this being the chief *Randevouze* aswell for the Islands of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Heere the English lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Town; holding themselves safe, aswel in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations; as of the striet conjunction made by the late Treaty before-mentioned.

They continued here some two yeers, conversing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the said Treaty. In which time there fell out sundry differences and debates betweene them; the English complayning, that the Hollanders did not onely lavish away much money in building, and unnecessary expences upon the Forts and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt: but also did, for their part,

pay the Garrisons with victuals and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Island of *Iava Maior*, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference sent the same hither over into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords the States General, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619, on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily increased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Ambogna* and *Iaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of February, 1627. *Stilo Veteri*, a *Iapon* Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of *Ambogna*, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Iapons* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did for the most part, serve the Dutch as souldiers, yet were

not of their trusty bands, alwaies lodged in the castle but upon occasion called out of the town to assist in the Watch. This *Iapon* aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Sentinell, apprehended upon suspicion of treason, and put to the torture. Thereby (as some of the Dutch affirmed) he was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his country-men there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Heereupon, other *Iapons* were examined and tortured, as also a Portugal, the Guardian of the Slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure daies, some of the Englishmen went to and from the Castle upon their businesse, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge, but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves; having never had any conversation with the *Iapons*, nor with the Portugal aforesaid. At the same time there was one *Abel Price* *Abel Price* Chirurgion of the English, prisoner in the Castle, *examined.* for offering in his drunkenesse to set a Dutch-mans house on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and shewed him some of the *Iapons*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, & told him, they had confessed the English to have been of their confederacy, for the taking of the Castle; & that if he would not confesse the same, they would use him even as they had done these *Iapons*, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soone made him confesse what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri.* Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the same morning, they sent for Cap-
taine

tain^e *Towerson*, and the rest of the English that were in the Town, to come and speak with the Governor in the Castle. They all went, save one that was left to keep the house. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerson*, that himself and others of his Nation were accused of a conspiracy to surprize the Castle, and therefore, untill further triall, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, took the merchandize of the English Company there into their own custody by Inventory, & seized all the chests, boxes, books, writings, & other things in the English house. Captain^e *Towerson* was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch souldiers: *Emanuel Tomson* was kept prisoner in the Castle: the rest, viz. *John Beomont*, *Edward Collins*, *william webber*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Timothie Iohnsen*, *John Fardo* & *Robert Brown*, were sent aboard the *Hollanders* ships then riding in harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governor sent to the two other Factories in the same Iland to apprehend the rest of the English there. So that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the factory at *Hitto*, and *william Grigs*, and *John Sadler* at *Larica*, were all brought prisoners to *Amboyna* the sixteenth of February. Vpon which day also *John Powle*, *John Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, were apprehended at *Cambello*, and brought in irons unto *Amboyna*, the twentieth of the same month. In the meane time, the Governour and Fiscall went to worke with the prisoners that were already there. And last they sent for *John Beomont*, and

and *Timothy Johnson*, from aboard the *Vnicorn*; who being come into the Castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pittifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taste of the torture *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is above-remembred,) was brought in to confront and accuse him. But *Johnson* nor yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the torture, where *Beomont* heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after he had been about an houre in this second examination, hee was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by-place of the Hall, with a Souldier to watch him, that he should speak with nobody. Then was *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Johnson* had beene, but in another something farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the Hall heard him roare most lamentably, and many times. At last after an houre and an halfe spent in torturing him, he was caried away into another roome another way, so that he came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and beeing demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured, a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their lannes of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Governor bade loose him; he would spare him a day or two, because hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

*Emanuel
Tomson
examined.*

fifteenth of February aforesaid.

Vpon Sunday the sixteenth of February, *William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsey, and Robert Brown,* were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson, William Griggs, and John Clarke, George Sharrock, and John Sadler,* from *Hitto and Larica*, and were immediately, upon their arrivall, brought into the Castle-Hall.

*Robert
Browne
examined.
Edward
Collins
examined.*

Robert Browne Tailor was first called in; and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessary to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and protested his innocency, yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though never so false, they should do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speake it, to avoide the torture. The Fiscall hereupon said, What do you mocke us? and bade, up with him againe: and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to indure, prayed to be let downe againe to his confession. Then he devised a little with himselfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, *Tomson, Johnson, Browne, and Fardo,* had plotted, with the helpe of the *Uppens*, to sur-

surprise the Castle. Heere he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether Captaine *Towerson* were not of that conspiracy. Hee answered, No. You lye, said the Fiscall: did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *John Iooft* that stood by, Did not you all sweare upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great othes, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this plot. He answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the English at *Iaccatra*, or *M. welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not plotters or privie to this businesse. Againe he answered, no. Then the Fiscall asked him, by what meanes the *Japoners* should have executed their purpose. Whereat when *Collins* stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, Should not two *Japoners* have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governors chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Governour comming to see what was the matter, the *Japoners* to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscall, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall without attending the answer to his former question, asked what the *Japons* should have had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000. Ryalls a peece. Lastly, he asked him, when

this plot should have beene effected. Whereunto, although hee answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sudden) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certaine beleefe that he should die for this his confession.

*Sam. Colson
examined.*

Next was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched; and was the same day brought to the torture; who, for feare of the paine wherewith he saw *Collins* come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blowne out of his head with the torment of water; chose rather to confesse all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, comming out weeping, lamenting and protesting his innocency.

*Iohn Clarke
examined.*

Then was *Iohn Clarke*, that came with *Colson* from *Hitto*, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two houres. The manner of his torture (as also of *Johnsons* and *Tomsons*) was as followeth: First, they hoised him up by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him fast upon two Staples of Iron, fixt on both sides at the top of the dore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung some two foot from the ground; which also they stretcht asunder as far as they would reach, and so made them fast beneath unto the dore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they powred the water softly upon his head untill the cloth was full, up to the mouth and nostrils

nostrills, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw breath, but he must withall suck in the water; which being still continued to be powred in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his nose, eares, and eyes; and often as it were stifling & shocking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a swoone or fainting. Then theyooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they tried him up againe, and powred in the water as before, eftsóones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or foure severall times with water, till his body was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great bladders, and his eyes staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confessing any thing. Infomuch as the Fiscall and tormentors reviled him, saying that he was a Divell, and no man, or surely was a Witch, at least had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherefore they cut off his haire very short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete untill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands, likewise under the arme-pits, untill his inward parts might evidently be seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no handsome confession, then they ledde him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment hee

answered yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect, to wit, That Captaine *Towerfon* had upon New-yeeres day last before, sworne all the English at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the helpe of the *Japoners*, to surpris the Castle, and to put the Governor and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by foure Blacks, who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, until (his flesh being putrefied) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most loathsome & noysome maner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies work; & it growing now dark, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from *Hitto*, and til then attended in the Hall) first to the Smith's shop, where they were loaden with Irons, & then to the same loathsome dungeon where *Clark* and the rest were, accompanied with the poor *Japoners*, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Munday the seventeenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certaine *Japoners*, were brought into the place of examination.

Will. Griggs
examined.

The *Japoners* were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Grigs*; which at last they did: and *Grigs*, to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded.

John Fardo
examined.

By and by the like also was done by *John Fardo*, and other *Japoners*: but *Fardo* himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscall asked him; and so was sent back to prison.

The same day also *John Beemont* was brought the

second time to the Fiscals chamber, where one Capitaine *Newport* a Dutch-mans son (borne in England) was used as an Interpreter. *William Grigs* was also brought in to accuse him, who said, that when the consultation for taking of the Castle, was held, then he (the said *Beomont*) was present. *Beomont* denied it with great earnestnesse and deep oaths. At last being tried up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the Fiscals interrogatories: yet as soone as he was let down, he cleerly demonstrated to Captain *Newport* and *Johnson* a Dutch Merchant then also present, that these things could not be so. Neverthelesse he was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else hee must to the torture againe: which to avoid, he subscribed, and so had a great iron bolt and two shackles riveted to his legs, & then was carried back to prison.

John Beomont
examined.

After this, *George Sharrock*, Assistant at *Hitto*, was called in question; who, seeing how grievously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since upon his oath hee hath acknowledged) that he would suffer him to make some such probable lies against himself, as the Dutch might beleve, and so he might escape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscall examined, & charged with the conspiracy. He fell upon his knees, and protested his innocency. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unlesse hee would confesse, he should be tormented with fire & water to death, and then should be drawne by the heeles to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in his innocency, the Fiscall bade him bee hoised

George Sharrock
examined.

up. Then he craved respite awhile, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Ambogna*, upon New-yeeres day, when the consulation was pretended; neither had been there since November before, as was well knowne to sundry of the Hollanders themselves, that resided there also with him. Hereupon they commanded him againe to the Racke: but he craving respite as before, now told them, that he had many times heard *John Clark* (who was with him at *Hitto*) say, That the Dutch had done them many unlesufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged of them: to which end, he had once broken with Captaine *Towerfon* of a brave plot. At which word the Fiscall and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captaine *Towerfon*, that he might go to *Maccassar*, there to consult and advise with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the stial Factories of *Ambogna* and *Seran*, when no ships were there. Here they asked him, what Captaine *Towerfon* said to this. He answered that Captaine *Towerfon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiscall called him rogue, &c. said he prated of from the matter, and should to the torture. He craved favour againe, and began another tale; to wit, that upon Twelf day then last past, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a practice to take the Castle of *Ambogna*; and asked him, whether he would consent therunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captaine *Towerfon* knew of any such matter. Which *Clark* affirming; then he (the said *Sharroock*) said, that he would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscall

call asked him, what time the consultation was held. He answered, In November last. The Fiscall said, That could not be: for, the consultation was upon New-yeeres day. The prisoner said as before in the beginning, that hee had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of December, till now that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiscall, have you belyed your self? Whereto the prisoner resolutely answered, that all that hee had spoken touching any treason, was false, and fained onely to avoid torment. Then went the Fiscall out into another roome to the Governor, and anon returned, and sent *Sbarrock* unto the prison againe. The next day he was called againe, & a writing presented him, wherein was framed a formall confession of his last conference with *Clark at Hitto*, touching the plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*: which being read over to him, the Fiscall asked him, whether it were true or no. He answered No. When then said the Fiscall, did you confesse it? He answered, For feare of torment. The Fiscall and the rest in a great rage told him he lyed; his mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it. Which as soone as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himselfe and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the Day of Iudgement: withall hee grappled with the Fiscall, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the Governor, with whom he also craved to speake; but was instantly laid hold on, and carryed away to prison.

William Webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiscall, that *John Clark* had confessed him to have been examined.

been at *Amboyna* on New-yeeres day, and sworne to Captaine *Towerfon*'s plot, &c. All which he denied, alleaging he was that day at *Larica*: yet, beeing brought to the torture, he then confessed, hee had bin at the consultation at *Amboyna* upon New-yeeres day, with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked. He also further told them, hee had received a letter from *John Clark*; after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great businesse in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then standing by, told the Governor, that upon New-yeeres day, the time of this pretended consultation, *VVebber* and hee were merry at *Larica*. So the Governor left him, and went out. But the Fiscall held on upon the other point, touching the Postscript of *Clark*'s Letter, urging him to shew the same. Which when hee could not doe, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him respite; promising to save his life, if hee would produce that Letter.

*Gabriel
Towerfon
examined.*

Then was Captaine *Towerfon* brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. Hee deeply protesting his innocencie, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who beeing told, that unlesse he would now make good his former confession against Captain *Towerfon*, he should to the torture; coldly re-affirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs*, & *John Fardo* to iustifie their former confessions to his face. Captain *Towerfon* seriously charged them, that as they would answer it at the dreadful day of Judgment, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fell down upon their knees before him:

him; praying him for God's sake to forgive them, and saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken onely to avoid torment. With that, the Fiscall and the rest offered them again to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When *Colson* (who had accused Captain *Towerson* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the Fiscall, upon whose head he thought the sinne would lye; whether upon his that was constrained to confesse what was false, or upon the constrainters. The Fiscall, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the Governour then in another roome; but anon returning, told *Colson* he must subscribe it: which he did; yet withall made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse my selfe and others, of that which is as false as GOD is true: for, God is my witness, I am as innocent as the childe new borne.

Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English Company*, in the severall Factories of the Island of *Amboyna*.

The one and twentieth of February, they examined *Iohn VVetherall*, Factor at *Cambello* in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeeres day: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the *English Company*, that lay in the Factories, rotting and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best avails of their Employers. The Governor said, they questioned him not about cloth, but of treason: whereof when hee had

I. VVetherall
examined.

had protested his innocency, hee was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, & Captaine *Towerson* brought to confront and accuse him, having before (it seemes) confessed somewhat against him. But *M. Towerson* spake now these words onely: Oh *M. Wetherall*, *M. Wetherall*, speak the truth and nothing but the truth, as God shall put into your heart. So Captaine *Towerson* was put out againe, and *Wetherall* brought to the torture of water, with great threats, if water would not make him confesse, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write downe what they would: he would subscribe it. They sayd, he needed no Tutor: they would make him confesse of himself. But when they had triced him up foure severall times, and saw hee knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, & asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he still answered, Yea to all.

John Powle
examined.

Next was called in *John Powle*, *Wetheralls* Assistant at *Cambello*: but he proving that he was not at *Amboyna* since November (save now when hee was brought thither prisoner,) and being spoken for by one *John Iofft*, who had long beene well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Thomas
Ladbrook
examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, servant to *Wetherall* and *Powle* at *Cambello*, brought to be examined: but proving that he was at *Cambello* at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, hee was easily and quickly dismissed:

Ephraim Ramsay, was also examined upon the whole
preten-

pretended conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning Captaine *Welden* the English Agent in *Banda*: but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, being also spoken for by *John Looff*, was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with the Irons upon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth.

Ephraim Ramfey examined.

10 Lastly, *John Saddler*, servant to *William Grijs* at *Batavia*, was examined; and being found to have been absent from *Amboyna* at New-yeeres tide, when *Grijs* and others were there, was dismissed.

John Saddler examined.

10 Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the worke of eight dayes from the fifteenth unto the three and twentieth of February. After which was two daies respite before the Sentence. *John Powle*, being himselfe acquitted as before-said, went to the Prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused Captaine *Towersen*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocency; but especially his sorrow for accusing *M. Towersen*: for, said he, the feare of death doth nothing dismay me; for, God (I trust) will be mercifull to my soule, according to the innocency of my cause. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through feare of torment I have accused that honest and godly man Captaine *Towersen*, who (I thinke in my conscience) was so upright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much lesse would attempt any such businesse as he is accused of. Hee further said, he would before his death receive the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that hee had accused Captaine *Towersen* falsely and wrongfully, onely through feare of torment.

The first and twentieth of February, cold Suite, all the prisoners, as well the English as the Portugall and the Japan, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except John Paul, Ephraim Ratsey, John Saddler, and Thomas Ladbroke, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captaine Towerfon having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come so speak with him, nor much in his chamber (as some of the Dutch report) but all was suppressed, save only a Bill of debt, which one Thaddeus free Burgher got of him by favour of his keeper, for acknowledgement that the English Company owed him a certain summe of money. In the end of this Bill he writ these words: *Firmed by the firme of one Gabriel Towerfon, now appointed to dye, guiltlesse of any thing that can be justly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive mee to his mercie.* Anno. This Bill being brought to M. welden, the English Agent at Amboyna, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgment.

William Grigs (who had before accused Captaine Towerfon) writ these words following in his Table booke: *wee, whose names here are specified, John Beaumont, Merchant of Lohoe, William Grigs, Merchant of Larica, Abel Price, Chirurgian of Amboyna, Robert Browne, Tailor, which doe have by prisoners in the ship Rotterdam, being apprehended for conspiracie, for blowing up the Castle of Amboyna: wee being judged to death in the first of March, Anno 1622. which wee through torment was constrained to speake, that which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which wee take upon our deaths and salvation; they tortured us with that*

extreme

extreme torment of fire and water, this flesh and blood could not endure: and thus we vult open our deaths, thus they have put us to death guilelesse of our accusation. So therefore we desire they shal understand this: that our employers may understand these wrongs, and that your selves would have a care to looke to your selves: for their intent was to have brought you in also: they aske concerning you: which if I had assured on, I wold have confessed you also. And so farewell; written in the darke.

This Table book was afterwards delivered to Mr. *Widdow* aforesaid, by one that served the *Marsh* *Samuel Colson* also, another that accused *Captaine Rowson*, writ as followeth, in the waste leaves of a booke, wherein were bound together, the Common Prayer, the Psalmes, and the Catechisme.

March 5. *Stile nova*, being Sunday, about the *Record*, lying in irons.

Vnderstand that I *Samuel Colson*, *Law Father* of *Hilro*, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracie: and for any thing I know, must dye for it: wherefore, having no better means to make my innocence knowne; thus writ this in this booke, hoping some good Englishman will see it. I doe here upon my salvation, as I hope by His death and passion to have redemption for my sinnes; thus I am cleere of all such conspiracie: neither doe I know any Englishman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God blesse me.

Samuel Colson.

On the other side, upon the first page of the Catechisme, is thus written:

IN another lease you shall understand more, which I have written in this booke.

Samuel Colson.

In the beginning of the Psalmes, and in the lease
so referred unto, is thus written, viz,

THE Iapones were taken with some villany, and
brought to examination: being most tyrannously
tortur'd, were asked if the English had any hand in their
plot: which torture made them say, Yea. Then was Mr.
Tomson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Collins, Joh. Clark brought
to examination; and were turned under the armes, arme-
pits, the hands, and soles of the feet, with another most
miserable torment to drinke water; some of them almost
tortured to death, and were forced to confesse that which
they never knew, by reason of the torment which flesh and
blood is not able to endure. Then were the rest of the Eng-
lishmen called one by one (amongst which I was one) be-
ing wished to confesse, or else I must goe to torment; with-
all charged Mr. Iohnson, who was before tormented, to
witness against me, or else he should be tormented againe;
which rather than hee would endure, he said, what they
would have, he would speake. Then must I confesse what I
never knew, or else to goe to torment; which rather than
I would suffer, I did confesse that, which (as I shall be sa-
ved before God almighty) is not true; being forced for
feare of torment. Then did they make us witnesses against
Captaine Towerson, and at last made Captaine Tower-
son confesse: all being for feare of most cruell torment;
for which we must all dye. As I meane and hope to have
pardon for my sinnes, I know no more than the childe un-
borne of this businesse. Written with my owne hand the
5. of March, Anno novo.

Samuel Colson,

Yet in another page were these words:

I was

I was borne in New-castle upon Tyne; where I desire
 this booke may come, that my friends may know of my
 innocency.

Samuel Colson.

This Booke hie delivered to one that served the
 Hollanders; who sowed it up in his Bed, and after-
 ward, at his opportunity, delivered it to M. *welden*
 before-named.

All these said Writings are yet extant under the
 hands of the severall parties, well knowne to their
 friends here in England.

The six and twentieth of February, *stilo veteri*, the
 prisoners were all brought into the great Hall of the
 Castle (except Captain *Towerson* and *Emanuel Tom-
 son*) to be prepared for death by the Ministers. The
Japonts now all in generall, as some of them had done
 before in particular, cryed out to the English, saying,
 O you Englishmen, where did we ever in our lives
 eat with you, talk with you, or (to our remembrance)
 see you? The English answered, Why then have you
 accused us? The poore men, perceiving they were
 made beleieve each had accused others, before they
 had so done indeed, shewed them their tortured bo-
 dies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it
 not change his nature? how much more we that are
 flesh and blood!

Whilst they were all in the Hall, Capitaine *Tom-
 erson* was brought up into the place of examination,
 and two great jarrs of water carried after him. What
 he there did or suffered, was unknowne to the Eng-
 lish without: but it seemeth, they made him then to
 under-write his confession. After supper, *John*

Ephraim Ramsey, Thomas Ladbroke, and John Saddle, who were found not-guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another roome. By and by also were *Samuel Colson* & *Edward Collins* brought from the rest, into the roome where *Emanuel Tompson* lay. The Fiscall told them, it was the Governours mercy, to save one of them three; and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it. Which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*, who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powle* and the rest that were quit, lodged: and *Samuel Colson* backe into the Hall. Anon also *John Barbone* was brought out of the Hall, into the chamber where *John Powle* and the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to *Reus Labefin* the Dutch Merchant of *Laba*, and to the Secretaries, for they two had begged his life.

So then there remainted in the Hall ten of the English, for *Captain Tompson* and *Emanuel Tompson* (as is said before) were kept in severall roomes apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall, came the Dutch Ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions: for it was a dangerous and desperate thing to dissemble at such a time. The English still professed their innocency, and prayed the Ministers, that they might all receive the Sacrament, as a seale of the forgiveness of their finnes, and withall, thereby to confirme their last profession of their innocencie. But this would by no means be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus unto the Ministers, You manifest unto us the danger

of dissimulation in this case. But tell us; if we suffer guiltlesse, being otherwise also true beleivers in Christ Iesus, What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the cleerer you are, so much the more glorious shall bee your resurrection. With that word, *Colso* started up, imbraced the preacher, and gave him his purse, with such money as he had in it, saying, *Domine*, God blesse you: Tell the Governour, I freely forgive him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of this bloody tragedy, wrought upon us poore innocent soules. Here all the rest of the *English* signified their consent to this speech. Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My Countrey-men and brethren, that are here with me condemned to dye, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods Iudgement seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confesse the truth for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocency in this Treason, so LORD pardon all my sinnes: and if I bee guilty thereof more or lesse, let mee never be partaker of thy heavenly Joyes. At which words, every one of the rest cryed out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good LORD. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, begging forgiveness for their false accusation; being wrung from them by the paines or feare of torture. And they all freely forgave one another: for none had bene so falsely accused, but he himselfe had accused another as falsely. In particular; *George Sharpe* (who survived to relate this nights passage) kneeled

led down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the sale at *Hitto* above mentioned, and craved forgiveness at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, saying, How should I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you, having my selfe so falsely accused *Captain Tower*son and others.

After this, they spent the rest of the dolefull night in Prayer, singing of Psalmes, and comforting one another, though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drinke *Lusticke*, and drive away their sorrow; according to the custome of their owne Nation in the like case, but contrary to the nature of the English.

Vpon the morrow-morning, being the execution-day, the 27. of February, *stilo veteri*, *John Powle* being freed (as is above recited) came into the room where the condemned persons were, and found them at prayer. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in England the innocency of their cause; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves and others, touching this crime, was all false, and forced by feare of torture.

The same morning, *william webber* was called again into the Fiscals room, and there pressed to produce the letter, which hee had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*, in the *Postscript* whereof some great businessse was intimated. They promised him his life, if he would deliver or produce that Letter: which although he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning, *Emanuel Tomson*, understanding that *John Beemont* was pardoned, made means to have him

him come, and speake with him; which, with much a doe hee obtained. *Beumont* found him sitting in a chamber, all alone, in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound vp, but the matter and gore-blood issuing thorow the Rollers. Hee tooke *M. Beumont* by the hand, and prayed him, when hee came into England, to doe his duetie to the honourable Companie his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his brother *Billingsey*, and to certifie them of his innocencie, which (said hee) you your selfe know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall, a-long by the chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who stood in the dore, to giue and take the farewell of their countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpose, they prayed and charged those that were saued, to bear witnesse to their friends in England of their innocency, and that they died not traitors, but so many Innocents meerly murdered by the Hollanders; whom they prayed God to forgiue their blood-thirstinesse, and to haue mercy vpon their owne soules.

Beeing brought into the Yard, their Sentence was there read vnto them from a Gallery: and then they were thence caried vnto the place of execution, together with nine Iapons, and a Portugall; not the ordinary and short way. but round about, in a long Procession, thorow the Towne: the way guarded with five Companies of Souldiers, Dutch, & Amboyners, and thronged with the Natiues of the Island, that (vpon the Summons giuen the day before by the sound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this

triumph of the Dutch ouer the English. *Samuel Colson* had conceiued a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocencie: which prayer hee read to his fellows the night before, and now also at the place of execution deuoutely pronounced the same; then threw away the paper: which the Gouvernor caused to bee brought vnto him, and kept it.

Emanuel Tomson told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew some signe of their innocencie; and euery one of the rest tooke it seuerally vpon their death, that they were vtterly guiltlesse: and so, one by one, with great cheerfulnesse, they suffered the fatal stroke.

The Portugall praied ouer his Beads very deuoutly, and often kissed the Crosse; swearing thereupon, that he was vtterly innocent of this treason; yet confessed, that God had justly brought this punishment vpon him, for that, hauing a wife in his owne Countrey, he had, by the perswasion of the Dutch Gouvernor, taken another in that Countrey, his first being yet liuing.

The Iapons likewise (according to their Religion) shut vp their last Act with the like profession of their innocencie. So there suffered ten Englishmen, viz. Captaine *Gabriel Tower*, the Agent of the English at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colson*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Tomson*, Assistant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnson*, Assistant there also; *John Wetherall*, Factor at *Cambello*; *John Clarke*, Assistant at *Hitto*; *William Griggs*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Fardo*, Steward of the house; *Abel Price*, Chirurgion; and *Robert Brynne* Tailor.

The Portugall also suffered with them. His name was *Augustine Perez*. He was borne at Bengala.

The names of the Iaponeses that suffered (if any be curious to know them) were as followeth :

Hitieso,

Tsiosa,

Sinsa.

Staney Migiel,

Pedro Congie,

Thome Corea.

Quiondayo native of Coraets.

Tsabinda of Tsoucketgo,

Zanchoe of Fisien.

Besides these, there were two other Iaponeses; the one named *Soyfimo*, borne at Firando; and the other *Sacombe*, of the same place: the former of which being tortured, confessed both to haue beene priuie to this pretended treason, and to haue offered his seruice vnto the English, to ayde them in taking of the Castle and the latter confessed to haue had knowledge of the consultation of the other Iapons to this purpose. But neyther of them was executed, nor so much as condemned. The reason whereof was not knowne to the English that were saued.

They had prepared a cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towersons* body to fall vpon; which being stayned and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the English Companie.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darkenesse, with a sudden and violent gust of winde and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch

Shippes, riding in the harbour, were driuen from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saued from the rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Governour, That *Robert Browne*, the English Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, hee hoped, that within sixe moneths the English should haue as much to doe in the Castle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This fellow, comming vpon an euening to the graue where the English were buried, beeing all (saue Captain *Tower*) in one pit, fell downe vpon the graue; and hauing lien there awhile, rose vp againe starke mad, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sicknesse at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the space, wherein there vsually died not aboue thirty at other seasons. These signes were by the suruiuing English referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* aboue named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Hollanders.

The next day after the execution, beeing the eight and twentieth of February, *Stilo veteri*, was spent in triumph for the new Generall of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publicke reioycing for the deliuerance from this pretended treason. The day following, beeing the first of March, *John Beumont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governour; who told *Webber*, *Beumont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new
Generall

Generall; and *Colins*, that he was to go to Iaccatra, there to stand to the fauour of the Generall. So the Gouvernor made them drink wine with him, and courteously dismissed them; willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saued, who were fit to be placed in the severall Factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the Gouvernor, hee accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take vpon him the patronage and government of the English Companies businesse. To which purpose he had within a few daies past opened a Letter that came from the English President at Iaccatra, directed to Captaine *Towersan*; beeing (as hee said) the first English Letter that euer he intercepted; further saying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the English at Iaccatra were innocent touching this businesse.

The Gouvernor and Fiscall, hauing thus made an end at *Amboyna*, dispatched themselves for Banda: where they made very diligent enquiry against Captaine *Welden*, the English Agent there, yet found no colour nor shadow of guilt to lay hold on; but at last entertained him with courteous speeches, professing to bee very glad, that they found him, as well as the English at Iaccatra, to bee without suspicion of this treason (as they tearme it). Captaine *Welden*, perceiuing the disorder and confusion of the English Companies affaires at *Amboyna*, by meanes of this dealing of the Dutch; forthwith hired a Dutch Pinace at Banda, and passed to *Amboyna*: where, instantly vpon his arruall, he re-called the Companies seruants, sent (as before) by the Dutch Gouvernor to the vnder-Factories.

Having enquired of them, & the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceeding lately passed, hee found, by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such treason of the English as was pretended: as also hee vnderstood, what strict command the Gouvernor had giuen to the suruiuing English, not once to talke or conferre with the Country-people concerning this bloody businesse, although the said Country-people euery day reproched them with treason, and a bloody intention to haue massacred the natiues, and to haue ripped vp the bellies of women with childe, and such like Ruffe; wherewith the Dutch haue possessed the poore Vulgar, to make the English odious vnto them. The said *M. Welden* therefore finding it to sort neither with the honour nor profit of the English Company, his Masters, to hold any longer residence in *Amboyna*, hee tooke this poore remnant of the English a-long with him, in the said hired Pinace, for Iaccatra, whither the Gouvernor had sent *Iohn Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the Generall.

When this heauy newes of *Amboyna* came to Iaccatra and the English there, the President forthwith sent to the Generall of the Dutch, to know by what authority the Gouvernor at *Amboyna* had thus proceeded against the English, and how he, & the rest of the Dutch there at Iaccatra, did approoue these proceedings. The Generall returned for answer, that, The Gouvernor of *Amboyna's* authority was deriued from that of the Lords States Generall of the Vniued Netherlands; vnder whom hee had lawfull iurisdiction both in criminall and ciuill causes, within the district
of

of *Amboyna*. Further, that such proceeding was necessary against traitors, such as the English, executed at *Amboyna*, might appear to be by their owne confessions: a copy whereof hee therewith sent to the English President; who sent the same backe to be authentickly certified, but received it not againe.

Hitherto hath beene recited the bare & naked narration of the progresse and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the depositions of six severall English Factors: whereof foure were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Proesse of *Amboyna*; all, since their returne into England, examined vpon their othes in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captaine *Towerson's*, as also of *Emanuel Tomson's* examinations and answers, are not yet come to light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himselfe; nor any other of the English suffered to come and speake, with them, except onely that short Farewell which *John Beomont* tooke of *Tomson* the morning before the execution aforementioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of diuerse of the rest that were executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly lookt to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talke together, nor mutually relate their miseries.

But because the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confessions of the parties executed, acknowledging severally vnder their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amisse to recollect and recall vnto this place, as it were vnto one summe and totall, certain circumstances dispersed in severall parts of this narration; whereby as well

well the innocencie of the English, as the unlawfull proceedings against them be manifested.

First therefore it is to be remembred, that the Iapons were apprehended, examined, and tortured three or foure dayes, before the English were attacked; and the same as well of their apprehension, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Towne of *Amboyna*, and the parts adjoyning. *Tomson* in this interim, and the very first day of the examination of the Iapons, went to the Castle to aske leaue of the Gouvernor to land some Rice, and brought backe the newes with him to the English house, of the cruell handling of these poore Iapons. This had been *Item* enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves: where-to also they had ready means by the Curricurries or small Boats of the *Amboyner*s, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherewith they might easily have transported themselves to *Seraa*, to *Bortoon*, or to *Maccassar*, out of the reach and jurisdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little priue to any treason of their owne, as suspicious of any treacherous traine laid for their bloods.

In the next place let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to attchieue this pretended enterprize.

The Castle of *Amboyna* is of a very great strength (as is before declared); the Garrison therein two or three hundred men; besides as many more of their free Burghers in the Towne. What their care and circumspection in all their Forts is, may appeare not only by the quick Alarm they now tooke at the foolish question of the poore Iapon, made to the *Scrinell* a-

boue-receiued; but also by that which a little before hapned at Iaccatra, where one of their souldiers was shot to death for sleeping in the Watch.

Durst ten Englishmen (whereof not one a souldier) attempt any thing vpon such a strength & vigilancy? As for the assistance of the Iapons, they were but ten neither, and all vnarmed as well as the English. For, as at the seizure of the English house, all the provision therein found was but three swords, two muskets, and halfe a pound of powder: so the Iapons (except when they are in seruice of the Castle, and there armed by the Dutch) are allowed to have no Armes, but onely a *Catanne*, a kinde of short sword: and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, vpon great penaly, to sell any hand-gun, powder or bullets, to the Iapons or *Amboyners*. But let it be imagined that these twentie persons, English and Iapons, were so desperate as to aduenture the exploit; how should they be able to master the Dutch in the Castle, or to keepe possession when they had gotten it? what Seconds had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the English in the harbour. All the rest of the Iapons in the Island, were not twentie persons, and not one English more. The neereest of the rest of the English, were at Banda, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and those but nine persons, all afterwards cleared by the Gouvernor and Fiscal themselves from all suspicion of this pretended crime, as were also the rest of the English at Iaccatra.

On the other side, besides the strength of the Castle and Towne of *Amboyna*, the Hollanders haue three other strong Castles, well furnished with Souldiers, in the same Island, and at *Combello* neere adioyning. They had then also in the road of *Amboy-*

as eight Ships and vessels, namely, the *Rosterdam* of 1200. tun, the *Vnicorne* of 300. tun, the *Free-mans* vessell of 100. tun, the *Calck* of 60. tun, *Capitaine Gamals Lunck* of 40. the *Flute* of 300. tun, the *Amsterdam* of 1400. tun, and a small *Pinace* of about 60. tun; and all these well furnished with men and munition. It is true, that the *Stories* doe record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the English Nation, and Holland is witnesse of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the English resolution; yet no Story, nor Legend scarcely reporteth any such hardinesse cyther of the English or others, That so few persons, so naked of all provisions and supplies, should vndertake such an adventure vpon a counterpartie, so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all these difficulties, yet to what end and purpose should they put themselves into such a iecopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, That the *Ports* in the *Indies* should remaine respectively in the hands of such as had possession of them at the date of the *Treatie*, Anno 1619. and that the same was ratified by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords States Generall. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowledge, of his Maiesties religious obseruation of peace and treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could these English hope for, of this their valour and danger? Certainely none other than that which is expressly provided by the *Treatie* it selfe, that is, To be punished as the disturbers of the common peace and amitie of both Nations.

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But let these English-men haue beene as foolish in this plot as the Hollanders will haue them; is it also to be imagined, that they were so gracelesse, as when they were condemned, and seriously admonished by the Ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly behauiour, as to spend the time in Prayer; singing of Psalmes, and spirituall comforting one another, which the Dutch would haue had them bestow in drinking, to drive away their sorrow? Let *Colsons* question to the Minister be considered: his and the rests offer and desire to receiue the Sacrament in witness of their innocencie; their mutuall asking forgiveness for their like false accusations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomsons* last farewell to *Beemont*; *Colsons* prayer, and his writing in his prayer booke; *Fardo's* farewell to *Rowle*; also his coniuring exhortation to his fellowes, to discharge their consciences, and all their answers thereunto, crauing Gods mercie or iudgement, according to their innocencie in this cause; their generall and religious profession of their innocencie, to their countrey men, at their last parting with them; and finally, the sealing of this profession with their last breath and blood, euen in the very article of death, and in the stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and vnexampl'd dissimulation were this? If some one or more of them had beene so fearefully desperate, yet would not there one amongst ten be found to thinke of the iudgement to come; whereunto he was then instantly summoned without *Essoine*, *Baile*, or *Mainprise*? What? had they hope of reprieue and life, if they kept their countenance to the last? Yet what hope had *Tomson* and

the rest, when Captaine *Touersons* head was off? Nay, what desire had *Tomson* and *Clarke* to liue, being so mangled and martyred by the torture? They were executed one by one, and euery one severally tooke it vpon his death, that he was guiltlesse.

Now to blanch and smooch ouer all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here giuen our, that the Gouvernor & Fiscall found such euidence of the plot, and dealt so cruely in the processe, that they spared, not their owne people; hauing vsed some of their native *Hollanders*, partakers of this treason, in the same manner as they did the *English*. But this, as wel by the relation here truely and faithfully set downe, grounded vpon the sworn testimonie of sixe credible witnesses, as also by other sufficient reports of diuerse (lately come out of those parts) appeareth to bee a mere tale, not once alleaged by any in the *Indies* in many moneths after the execution, but only invented and dispersed here, for a *Fucus* and false colour vpon the whole cause, and to make the world beleeeue that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the vsfariable couetousnesse of the *Hollanders*, by this cruell treacherie to gaine the sole Trade of the *Moluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; which is already become the euent of this bloody processe.

To adde hereunto by way of aggravation, will bee needlesse; the fact is so full of odious and barbarous inhumanitie, executed by *Hollanders* vpon the *English* Nation, in a place where both liued vnder termes of partnership and great amitie, confirmed by a most solemn Treatie.

FINIS.



A TRUE
DECLARATION OF
the News that came out of the East-
Indies, *with the Pinace called the*
HARE, which arriued in TEXEL,
in Iune 1624.

CONCERNING
A Conspiracy discovered in the Iland of *Amboyna*,
and the punishment following thereupon, according
to the course of justice, in *March 1624*. com-
prehended in a Letter missiue ;

AND SENT
From a friend in the Low-Countries, to a friend of note
in England, for information of him in the truth
of those passages.



Printed, Anno 1624.



Right worshipfull and worthy Sir,



He great outcries which haue bene made in England, upon the last newes which came out of the East-Indies, about a certaine execution which was done in the Island of Amboyna, in March, 1623. because we see the great desire that your Worship hath, to keepe good correspondence betwixt these two Nations, it hath caused me (beyond my owne curiosity) to search & inquire after the right & true beginning, proceedings, & issues of these affaires, upon which this execution followed. Wherein, I perswade my selfe, I haue attained good successe, by such means as I haue used, and by my good acquaintance, so that (as the last) I am come to the cleare light of the matter: partly by the letters that haue bene sent home, to the Company here, and declared to the States Generall, as also by a particular examination of the proccesse made against them in Amboyna, before their execution, and sent ouer hither, in writing, which at this present hath caused mee to write this vnto your Worship, that so, the truth may bee made knowne concerning this busines in all places, where your Wortheynes, and respect, can, or may bring it to passe; that so your Worship, and all true willers (of our Countrey,) may be no other wise thought of than we deserue.



He very causes and beginnings through which, the *Gouverneur*, and *Councell*, established in the name of the *United Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into suspicion, that some thing was plotted against that Province; did first flow from the great licentiousnes of the *Ternatanes* in *Molouque*, and *Ambôyna*: Who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606. made with the High and Mighty Lords the States, attempted (without our consent, and knowledge) to make peace with the King of *Tedore*; as also truce with the *Spaniards*, (their and our ancient aduersaries) by which, the said *Ternatanes* had too much cast off all respect which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold assistance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* also was master enough at sea, in the *Molouque*, because the *English Merchants* there, in the *East-Indies*, were vnwilling to furnish vs with ships of warre, toward the common defence; as they were bound to doe, according to the treaties 1619. to the number often. Through which, the voyages to *Manilla*, comming to cease, the enemy traded there without any interruption, & procured power to send *Galleys*, *Ships*, and *Pynasses* to the *Molouque*, with great succours of people, and prouision; and that because, against the same (through the defeale of the *English Merchants*) there were no Ships of warre kept, as there should haue beene.

The subjects of the King of *Ternata*, begun to commit great insolencies (otherwise than they were

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were wont) against our Nation, hauing outrageously assaulted diuers of vs, diuers wayes, and also slayne some, and wee notwithstanding could not obtaine any punishment vpon them. And as one outrage (vnpunished) prouokes many moe, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so likewise the sayd *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those neere adioyning places, proceeded further, and haue armed themselves at Sea, and inuaded diuers Ilands, and places standing vnder the *Netherlands Gouvernour* in *Amboyna*, spoiling them, and killing our subiects, and taking others, and carrying them away for slaues. And notwithstanding the instant request of the *Netherlands Gouvernour*, no satisfaction, or iustice, hath followed; but the said *Ternatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatned to murder the *Dutch Marchants*, and to spoyle and burne the *Logie*, or *Factory*, which our people haue many yeares there enioyed: so that our Merchants haue raken out the *Dutch* goods, to auoid damage: And the *Ternatanes* at *Lobo* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Netherlands Factory*. In the *Manichells* (an Iland being vnder the Prouince of *Amboyna*) they haue in like manner, shortly after, burned the *Netherlands Logie*, with the losse of all the goods there in. The *Netherlands Gouvernour*, that by his presence, and authority, hee might cause such rebellions to cease, and to giue order for time to come, and also to seeke satisfaction and punishment vpon the foresaid insolencies; went toward *Lobo*, with a small power of sloopes: and coming there-about,

was

was mett (otherwise than was wont) by a nauy of
 sloopes of the *Ternatanes* of *Lobo*, stronger than
 his were. These (by their conference) gaue him
 well to know, how little reuerence they gaue the
Dutch Gouvernor: they braued him, without hope of
 restitution of any thing to come: so that (nothing
 done) he was faine to returne to his Castle of *Am-*
boyna. By reason of these things, the sayd *Ternatanes*
 became so stout and daring, that they gaue out o-
 penly, that they would come, and spoile our sub-
 iects by a generall army, with about a 100. *Frig-*
gets: with these, they said they would come against
Amboyna, to make a vniuersall spoyle of our people;
 Through which, there came a great feare vpon the
Indians, standing vnder the subiection of the High and
 Mighty Lords the States, as also ouer the *Neather-*
landers.

In the Ilands lying farre Eastward of *Banda*, it
 was also said, and the newes went currantly there,
 That the *Hollanders* were sure enough quit of the
 Castle of *Amboyna*; And at that time there were di-
 uers secreet correspondencies betweene the *In-*
dians, and others, which gaue vs great suspicion. By
 this meanes the *Netherlands Gouverners*, and Councell
 of *Amboyna*, were moued to haue speciall regard, and
 looke narrowly vnto all things, seeing that it might
 bee thence clearly gathered, that something might
 bee plotted against the State in *Amboyna*, and that the
Indians (of themselves) durst not offer to vn-
 dertake any such great designe, without some
 great helpe of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*,
Portugalls, or some others; and also they vnderstood,

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that they of *Lobo, Cambello, &c.* had great secret correspondence with the *English* Merchants. When things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully discovered, in February 1623. a horrible conspiracie, against the Castle, and Person of the *Dutch Gouvernour*, and the whole state of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a certaine *Iaponian* (a complice of the feate) who at an vnseasonable time was often seene vpon the wall of the Castle, where he also ouer-curiously enquired of the most vnskilfull and sillyest souldiers, touching, the setting, and change of the *watch*, and what number of people might be in the Castle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the said *Iaponian* was apprehended, and being examined of many circumstances, he confessed, that the *Iaponian* souldiers, vnder our seruice, had decreed to make themselves Masters of the Castle, and that they should haue set vpon this by the helpe of the *English*, who had solicited them vnto it; and that hee withall the other *Iaponians* in the *English* house, often times within three monethes before-going, had conferred with the *English*, whom hee there named, by their names) touching the manner, whereby they should bring this treachery to passe. Hereupon it came to passe, that all the *Iaponian* souldiers which were in our seruice, were disarmed, and imprisoned, and by examination of them all, it appeared playnly, by an orderly and ioynt-confession, that all the said *Iaponians*, vpon the intreaty of *Gabriel Twer-son*, and other *English* Merchants, and Officers, agreed to assist the said *English* to betray the Castle, and to

giue

giue it ouer into the English Power; and that *Gabriel Towerfon*, and *Abel Price* (an English Chirurgion,) and other English, dealt often with them, (whom hee named by their names) of the way and means, how they should worke it; the said *Abel Price* being before imprifoned for a foule and execrable fact, and yet remayning in durance.

And although it appeared fufficiently to the Gouernour, and Councell of *Amboyna*, out of the confeffion of the Iaponians, what the said *Gabriel Towerfon* with his Merchants, and other complices, had before refolved to doe, and that the Councell had fufficient information to imprifon them all; yet the *Generall Councell* would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, (who was in prifon) to come before the Councell, and (after the places, persons, and time nominated to him, where, and when hee had dealt with the Iaponians, and other English, about the said treachery) it was alfo from him well vnderftood, how hee (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerfon*) and another Iaponian, (who was then alfo in prifon) had perfwaded all the Iaponians to confent to this villany, and that confequently the said *Towerfon*, as the *first Authour*, and all the other English Merchants, (being in the *Forraigne Cantore* of the Prouince of *Amboyna*) had alfo knowledge of the said treachery.

Vpon this full and vniforme examination, and confeffion of 12 persons, as well of the 11. Iaponians, as one English, is the said *Gabriel Towerfon* called to the Councell; and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his people vnto the Caftle, vpon

the request of the *Generall Councell*, who were there taken, and imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Tower-son* himselfe: to whom (vpon his request) and in regard of his quality, being chiefe merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *English Company*; his owne house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth comming. And the said prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them ioyntly, according to their owne confession (euery one hauing vnder-written it with his owne hand) as followeth.

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Gabriel Tower-son, about *New-yeares day*, 1623. hauing with him almost all the *English Merchants* of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of *great moment*, to impart vnto them, (which *he alone* could not effect) vnder the fidelity of an *oath* to bee taken *before*, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessary so to be; for if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make knowne vnto you, it will cost all our liues. Whereupon the holy *Gospel* was produced; vpon which, every one who was present, did sweare secrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Tower-son* (after a *preface*) opened to the conspirators, how he had a way and meanes to make himselfe *Master* of the *Castle* of *Amboyna*. And whereas some present made it difficult to doe, being too weake for it: the said *Tower-son* answered, That hee had already won to his purpose the *Iaponian* souldiers who were in the *Castle*, and that they should execute his purpose when the *Dutch*, who were in the

the Castle, were in their greatest weakenesse, and worst provided, or (*unawares*) when the *Governour* should bee absent, about some exploit; and that they should waite till some *English* ships, or ship, were in *Amboyna*, whose people hee might employ in this attempt; as also, when as all other the *English* Merchants, and slaves of the *Porraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, should be sent for to the Castle: And said further, That hee knew how to get men enow, and they should leaue this to his care, and themselves do their best; and that they of *Lobo* should also come to helpe him with certaine *Curricurries*, &c. vpon which inducements, all that were present swore to assist *Tower*son herein. And concerning the maner of execution, the said *Tower*son had prescribed to the *Japonians*, which were in the Castle, that they should send to euery point of the Bulwarkes, two men, and the rest in the Court attend the *Governour*, and to murder him; and that at the signe which should be given by the *English*, they should make themselves *Masters* of euery point of the Bulwarke, and kill all who should resist, and imprison the rest; and further should take, and diuide betweene themselves, and the *Japonians*, the goods of the Dutch *East-India Company*, except a 1000. rials of 8. which euery *Japonian* should haue before, and that they should kill the citizens who would not consent with them, and doe them all the mischief they could. And touching the time, hee had not yet certainly set it, but that there should suddenly bee another assembly of the conspirators, when *Gabriel Tower*son would giue order for all things, and giue a signe to the *Japonians*,

ponians, whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the worke within.

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The said *Gabriel Towerfon* being asked in particular, what moued him to such a wicked fact; hee answered, The desire of *Honour* and *Profit*. Being further demanded, who should enioy that Honour and Profit, and for whom hee would haue taken the Castle: he answered, That if he did obtaine his desire, hee should presently haue aduertised those of his Nation being in *Batania*, and called for their helpe, who if they had sent him succour, hee would haue kept the Castle for his owne company (viz. for the *English East-Indian Company*) and if not, he would haue held it for himselfe, and haue endeououred a peace with the Indians, that so by the one meanes or the other, hee might attayne his purpose.

M

After the examination of *Towerfon* was ended, the *Dutch Governour* in *Amboyna* vpbrayded *Towerfon* of his cruell intent, and asked, if this should haue beene the recompence of the manifold honours, and kindnesse hee had done vnto him. Whereto *Towerfon* answered with a deepe sigh, *Oh*, if it were to be begun, it should not be done. This voluntary confession, and penitent acknowledgement, with much sorrow, was made the 9. of March, being the day when the execution should haue beene done; but the examination of *Towerfon* was ended the 18. of February, so many dayes before. This is the substance of the confessions of 10. *Iaponians*, of 14. *English*, and of a *Neatherlandish Merinbo*, or *Captaine* of the *Slaves*; who all confirmed these their confessions with their owne hands.

What

What crime this intended prodicion was, is hence very manifest, and vndoubted: what punishment is due to treachery, according to the law and customes of all nations, is also well knowne: no true Christian man wil patronage any such horrible attempt, but wil adiudge it worthy of death, as it was determined vpon the complices of this conspiracy, according to order of justice, as there in *Amboyna* it is exercised (according to desert) by the Gouvernour and Councell, in the name of the *High and Mighty Lords, the States*.

Here you haue (Sir) the very substance of the truth, both of the fact and punishment; other than which, many things are spread abroad in England, but vpon what pretence, or intendement, I know not; let the matter it selfe speake for it selfe.

The first point, which is objected against this iustice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings, which are sayd to be holden without formality, and with extreameity, against these conspirators: Your Worship (and each reasonable men) knoweth, that euery land hath their lawes, and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceeding, as well in Ciuill as in Criminall causes. *England* hath hers. *France, Spaine, Dutchland, Netherland*, and all other *Kingdomes* and *Gouernments* haue also theirs, which are iust and lawfull to euery one in their dominion; so that, when any man will iudge of the equity or iniustice of a proceeding vsed in any land, he must examine the same according to the lawes and customes of that Kingdome or dominion, where the iustice and proceedings were holden. These proceedings

Obiect, 1.
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dings were holden by the *Netherlandish* Governor, in the name of the illustrious *Lords the States*, hauing supreme power, many yeares since in the *Iles of Amboyna*, which were conquered (in the name of the said *Lords the States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugalls*, who held that Castle in the name of the King of *Spaine*, our hereditary enemy; therefore they are now possessed in the name of the *Lords the States*, and are vnder their dominion, by a iust and lawfull title of warre, according to the law of *Nations*. There (among other things) iustice is administred according to the lawes of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was vsed in the proceedings against these conspirators. I know that the lawes of *England* are diuers from ours in *criminall* cases, yea, and from all the Nations in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of the *English Iudges* (holden in *England*) against delinquents, are not legitimate, though the said *English* proceedings doe vary in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spaine* &c. where other customs are: for that is lawfull, which agreeth with the lawes of that land where the fact is committed. Now then the *Japonian* souldiers, being in the seruice of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are discovered to haue conspired against the Castle and the *Government* there, vnder whose oath and pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and convicted of the said conspiracy. This proceeding is lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Japonians* know no other *Master* than the *Netherlanders*, vnder whose oath, seruice, and pay they stand.

All

All these Iaponian conspirators with the said *Merincho*, a *Captaine* of the *Netherlands* Slaues, confessed with one mouth, that they were moued and induced to this conspiracy, by the English Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not onely the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world requireth, that the authors, abettors and complices of murther and treason, should bee punished with death; whereto, according to the common lawes, as also the particular lawes of euery Kingdome or Deminion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should bee imprisoned, not onely for preuenting the effect of their euill purpose, but that they might also receiue their deserued punishment: which apprehensions, could not (*in that place*) bee done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands Gouvernour*, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see euery act concerning supream power, to be there obserued; & specially (all other reasons ceasing) the highest *English Officers* there, could not apprehend these *English* conspirators, because all the chiefe of the *English Merchants* in *Amboyna* were themselves of the conspiracy, and complices of the fact, vpon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices, must bee done by the *Dutch Gouvernour*, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custome of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may be holden more lawfull, it appeareth out of the written proesse, that the said *English* complices were not imprisoned vpon the first suspicions and grosse euidences which

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were

were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Iaponian* souldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had discovered by the vniforme confession of all the 11. the names and sur-names of such *English* as had perswaded and hyred them to this fact; of which *English*, one (viz. *Abel Price*, Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done vpon other houses, who also was first examined, and first confessed (as the other 11. *Iaponians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Tower-son*) and other *English* *Marchants*, whom hee named by their names, had suborned the said *Iaponian* souldiers; and that all the *English* *Marchants* in the *Forraigne Cantores* in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conspiracy, &c. So that it may bee seene, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* *Gouernour* dealt no otherwise in the apprehension, and examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the lawes of these *Vnited Provinces*.

Obi. 2.

Q The second point which is abusiuely dispersed in *England*, against this execution, is, that it is said, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceede against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the *Councell of defence* resident at *Iaquiera*, consisting halfe of *English*, and halfe of *Netherlands*, according to the treaty of the yeare 1619 made betweene his *Majesty* and the *Lords the States*, betweene the two *East-India Companies*. That I might the better informe my selfe thereof, I tooke in hand, and perused the generall treaty of 1619. with the explication following there-
upon;

vpon; but I professe, that (as I thinke) euery vnder-
standing man, (not louing discord) must confesse, that
neither in the sayd treaty, nor in the enlargement,
any one article or word could be perceiued, whereby
(according to that which is vntuly sayd in *England*)
either this, or any such thing is ordayned or decided,
by the sayd treaty; as it ought to haue clearly beene
in so great and important a point, as this part of ju-
risdiction is. I appeale to all wise men, who I desire
may iudge of this, whether this speech of some in
England (to wit, that the sayd Councell of defence
should (alone) haue iudged these Conspirators)
be agreable to the said treaty, or contrary to the
same. I finde many arguments for my negative o-
pinion, to wit, that before the treaty of 1619. the
Dutch in *Amboyna* administred jurisdiction, and ju-
dicature, vpon all and euery one who dwelt in
or vnder the jurisdiction of the Castle, as well inha-
bitants as strangers, without difference; and that
in this said treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *English Mar-*
chants, made onely a league in the matter of com-
merce and negotiation of *Nutmegs, Mace, Cloues,* and
Pepper, in some quarters, without hauing any further
treaty, or communication in the land; so that with-
out the bounds of this common negotiation, eue-
ry one remained free, and vn-hyndered in the land,
by the right and possession which either Company
enioyed and exercised severally; according as the
same appeareth out of the 23. article of the treaty:
where it is expressly sayd; *That Castles and Forts shall*
remayne in their hands who at present doe possesse
them: And out of the 13. 14. 15. articles of the trea-

ty, all may see, that this common Councell of *De-
fence* hath no more power, saue onely ouer the fel-
lowship of the treaty, that is, ouer the Nauy of de-
fence in the Sea, to the defence of the common
Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and lastly,
to taxe the charges for the prouision of munition
in the Forts; neither can any other thing be sincere-
ly collected out of the said treaty, so farre as I can
conceiue. Therefore this second point is found to be
vntrue and abusive, being not founded vpon the
said treaty, which treaty (notwithstanding) ought
to bee the onely rule, both of the one and the other
Company.

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Finally, it is giuen out in *England*, that in the exa-
mination of the Conspirators there was excesse in
the *Netherlands* Iudges, in the point of *Torture*. I ac-
knowledge, that no argument or pretext against
the iustice of this execution, hath more moued
mee in the beginning, than this pretence of excesse
aforesaid, because this stirreth Christian compassion;
although I also iudge, that wise men will not suffer
themselues to be too much transported thereby,
before the true reasons doe fully appeare, which
should moue vs thereunto. For, I well remember
yet, that in the time of former mistakings in the *In-
dies*, many things were pretended on both parts,
vpon which, there were greater outcries on either
side, which yet, by due examination, were found
to be (thought faire, yet) false pretenses of some ill-wil-
lers, and men desirous to wrangle: which pretences
being thoroughly sifted by the High and much ad-
mired wisdom of his *Maiesty*, and the *Lords* the
States,

States, were well discovered to be no such matters as they were made: as it is also vndoubtedly to be beleueed, that his *Majesty*, and the *States* will yet further doe in this affaire; and so the cause of the *Dutch* Company may be (in the carriage hereof) rightly iustified. Of which I vnderstand that the *Lords* the *States* haue speciall regard, and that they haue beene throughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* vpon the *English* Conspirators. Vnto which end the *Lords* the *States* resolved to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings: And now thereupon men speake faire otherwise than heretofore; for pretences and cauills (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appeare, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to be most cruelly inflicted vpon these *English* Conspirators, as in *England* it is said. And I haue euer suspected this for a slander: for I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhorre this kinde of cruelty, and are as much moued to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these euill minded men, who haue scattered this great slander in *England*, and hate so fowly defaced a iust cause, haue done it by occasion of our vse of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the custome of the most dominions of *Europe*; I cannot iudge. But is that to be censured and iudged to be vniust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the lawes of *England*, (or any one Nation) where torture is rarely vsed? Nothing so; but the iustice or iniustice of a cause,

must bee (as aforesaid) determined, according to the lawes where it is done, and not of other lands. If this were not so, why then should not the whole world much more iudge that as a hard, and a thing vnheard, (and therefore condemnable) which in some cases is vsed in *England*, according to the lawes there, when they proceed against some guilty person; who being once and againe asked of the Iudge, and vtterly refusing to bee legally tried, is adiudged as dumbe, that is, by contumacy; whose condemnation then accordingly followeth, That hee is laid vpon a table, or planke, and another planke vpon him, and so much weight of stone or lead laid vpon him, that his body is miserably bruised, and so pressed violently to death. The which, according to the confession of all nations, (especially, because this kinde of iustice is not vsed in other lands) and by the *English* writers, is iudged to bee one of the most sharpe and seuerer kindes of death, that can be inuented; yet cannot such an execution be called cruell and vnlawfull when it is done in *England*, because it is done according to the lawes of that land, though strangers shall iudge otherwise of it. And in like manner the *English* nation cannot com-
 plaine of the torture which euill willers say, was vsed vpon these *English* Conspirators in *Amboyna*, because it was done according to the lawes of this *Government*, and is not vnusuall in cases of treason, neither with vs, nor (almost) any Nation in *Europe*. And for *England* it selfe, it is well knowne (and his most excellent *Maiesty* doth acknowledge by his owne *Princely* pen) that the *Rack*, and the *Manacles*, are the
 the

the onely tortures, that are executed upon Traytors, to force them to confesse, (*without concealement*) what they know to be dangerous to the State.

And to say the truth, without taking parts, the *English* Conspirators being affronted with the vniforme and written confessions, of the 11. *Iaponians* (their Complices) which could conuince them sufficiently, according to the lawes, and finde them guilty of the same conspiracy, and consequently of death: if now, notwithstanding this, they had persisted in the stout denial of the fact, were not this (to speake according to the manner in *England*) enough to iudge them dumbe by contumacy, and so to esteeme them worthy of this sore punishment of pressing to death, as is aforesaid? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were so tortured) is to bee iudged farre lesse than that pressing, where the malefactor doth suffer such extreame misery as cannot bee imagined, and which is not to bee lenified or eased at all, but ended by death. But to the sufficient satisfaction of my selfe, and your Worship, and all men, and not to speake according to the sentence, and conscience of others; I haue vsed all diligence to get into my hands the written *processe*, concerning the Conspirators in *Amboyna*; which I obtained authentically, and read carefully: and I finde that all that is by mee aboue said, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Iaponian* Complices were examined, and made their confession as aforesaid, for three dayes, viz. the 23. 24. 25. of February. 1623. and that all this being done, and consummated before, then at last, is Gabriel Towerson, first with the rest of the

the *English* *Captives*, imprisoned, the said 25. of February, when their examination and confession began, and continued diuers dayes without over-hasting, till the 3. of March. And the said examinations and confessions being so finished, the *Netherlands* *Gouernour*, and *Councell*, deliberated whether the punishment might bee deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was so concluded, by ioynt consent of all, that the said punishment (there deserued) must bee executed in the same place, *for example*, and that it could not (in any wise) bee delaied without extreame danger, for reasons there related; and among others, because the *Ternatanes*, and *Indians* about *Amboyna*, had otherwise than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it bee fully knowne, what great confederacy these Conspirators had made with them, and others. And touching any extraordinary and cruell torture, I haue accuratly ouer-looked euery ones confession, but I finde not one word in any one, which maketh any mention of such torture, as is vniuersally spoken of in *England*; nay, scarce finde any mention of that ordinary torture, which is in vse, saue onely these words, in one act of the 25. of Feb. 1623. viz. *The Councell being gathered together, haue thought meete, that all the English should be presently examined one after another (as accordingly it was instantly done) and some of them, before any torture; others, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, confessed as followeth.* Vnto which, follo weth presently the particular confession of each one, subscribed with his owne hand, as aforesaid. ¶ So that hee it is manifest, that no extraordinary

extraordinary torture was used, in such manner as is given out there, by those that with us evilly say, that those few that felt any, were onely touched (not punished) with ordinary tortures, *disturbi non modo*

And thus your *Worship* hath the upright and impartiall truth of this businesse, touching the whole passage as it proceeded, and the punishment, as it was inflicted, from which, some *English* were exempted by favour, that the *English* goods should not be lost, according as order hath beene given to that end: And I finde that the sentence was given the 9. of March, 1623. by a competent assembly of *Indiges*, who (as it appeareth in the sentence) in the doing thereof, did (*before*) earnestly call upon the name of the Lord that hee would please to be present and predominant in every one of their hearts, in this their *sorrowfull assembly*, and that hee would inspire them onely with that which might bee iudged to be expedient and iust, &c. So that out of all that is above said, nothing else can appeare, but that this businesse was managed lawfully, and orderly, by men of honesty and conscience, against such as had undertaken against the *State*, against the wealth and advantage of this *East-India Company*, the lives of their *Officers* there placed, against the estate and welfare of many, who had little deserved, and as little expected, such wickednesse from their friendly confederates in the same society of *Merchants*, there resident with them.

And now (considering the premisses) I hope it shall bee farre from every *Christian* in any wise to protect or excuse this wicked fact, but rather to

mourne and grieve (as wee doe) for this conspiracy, and for the evill the conspirators have so *deservedly* drawne upon their owne heads; and to honour them, who in iustice have punished villany, according to the due merit thereof: for wee all know, that without *JUSTICE*, without reward of that which is *Good*, and punishment of that which is *Evill*, no society of mankind can consist.

And of this information (which I send in love, and honour, to your *Worship*, as unto a *lover of Truth*, and a *bater of Treachery*) you may make such use, as to you shall seeme good, in any place where you come, both for refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for *Prevention* of any further false rumors, or clamors; and finally, for *Propagation* of that undoubted truth, which *here* (to my best) I have endeavoured to discover. And if you shall meete with any thing of worth which can bee truly avowed, to bee contradictory unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you, and you to suspend your *wise* and impartiall iudgement, till I have cleared it unto you. *TRUTH* remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the *God of truth*, desiring him to give us mindes, *Not to judge according to outward appearance, but to judge with a righteous iudgement.*

From my Lodging, July 23. 1624.

AN ANSWER
TO THE DUTCH RE-
LATION, TOUCHING THE PRE-
tended Conspiracie of the ENGLISH at
AMBOYNA in the Indies.



THE Compiler of this relation, perceiving that hee had an hard taske, to make it probable, that eightene Englishmen, Merchants and their servants, all unarmed, should, with the helpe and assistance of tenne Iapons, likewise unarmed, undertake the surprize of a Castle, so provided every way, as that of Amboyna, is before in the relation of the English truly described to bee: also the same Authour well weighing, that albeit all that hee was to write of this pretended Conspiracie, should be taken for true, yet the fact would seeme very poore, to beare so rigorous a punishment in persons of that quality, and of that relation to those that inflicted it, provides more skilfully than fairely, for both these points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he takes and heapes together all the ieaiousies and dangers that the Dutch

had in the Indies, yea and more than they truly had at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applis them all to the suspicion of this businesse: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the English; and therefore the fact, under colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the state of the time had bin then so dangerous, that every shadow of conspiracy was to bee exquisitely enquired of, and the least offence to bee severely punished. Wherefore although this bee no direct charge of the English, but used by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the processe it selfe, it will not be amisse to examine the severall circumstances, and how far they may yeeld any suspicidn against the said English.

A Now this Author taketh the maine grounds of this suspicion of some great plot against the Province of Amboyna, from the unwonted boldnesse and insolencies of the Ternatans; first in the Moluccoes, and then in Amboyna. For those in the Moluccoes he saith, they had lately before the pretended conspiracy of the English, gone about, contrary to the Treaty, *Anno*. 1606. betweene them and the Dutch, to make peace with the King of Tedore, and truce with the Spaniard, without the consent or knowledge of them, the Dutch: which how honestly and conscionably it is alleaged to this purpose, may appear by the Journalls of those parts; which evidently shew, that this treaty betweene those of Ternata and Tedore, was in November, 1621. that is to say, fiftene moneths before this forged conspiracie; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governour of the Dutch, who, upon the

the 19 of November the yeare aforesaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the English in those parts, with the preparation of this Treaty, which was actually holden at Ternata the 24. of the same month. But the matter was so well handled by the Dutch, to keepe those neighbour Islands in perpetuall warre, that the Treatie was dissolved *re infecta*, And the seventh of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, upon paine to bee made slaves. After this, the correspondence betweene the Dutch and Ternatans in the Moluccoes, returned into as firme state as ever; the Ternatans performing daily exploits against the Spaniards, and communicating the triumph with the Dutch: As the seventeenth of February 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twenty Curricuries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew forty in fight, and took 150. prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaio, the eighteenth of the same moneth, with the heads of divers Spaniards at his Stern, the Dutch saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordnance. The 25. of Aprill following, the Admirall of the King of Ternata rooke a Prow of the Spaniards, slew some, and sold the rest to the Dutch. The 28. of the same moneth, both Dutch and English were feasted by the King of Ternata. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machain with sixe Curricuries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of June

Iune, the Admirall of the King of Ternata made a voyage towards mindanow, carrying diverse of the Dutch with him to assist him. The third of Iuly, the Ternatanes tooke other prisoners and sold them to the Dutch. The 24. of August, the King of Ternata made one *Vogler* a Dutch Merchant, his Treasurer, at whose instalment in his new office, the Dutch gave seven great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, betweene the Ternatans and the Dutch in the Moluccoes, continued even untill, and after the execution of the English at Amboyna: which was (as hath beene shewed) in March 1623. *new stile*. Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gave the King of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails of Iapan Rice, with other presents: at the deliverie whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seven peeces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of small shot. By all which may appeare, how sincerely this Author applyeth the dissidence betweene the Dutch and the King of Ternata, which was now none at all to this businesse of Amboyna,

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The next point is, that the Ternatans in the Moluccoes went about also to make truce with the Spaniards, without consent or knowledge of the Dutch: wherein this dealing of the Author is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Iournalls, to have beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was five moneths after the execution of the English at Amboyna, and so came too late to move suspicion against them.

C

And yet this pretended feare and ielocie of the Moluccoes is further amplified by the strength of the Spaniard, being then (as this Author affirmeth) Ma-

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ster of the sea there, and that by default of the English; who, contrary to the treaty of the yeere 1619. had deserted the defense, and sent no more ships, neither to the Molocoes, nor to the Manillaes: whence now the Spaniards had means to send ships, Gallies, and Pinaces, to the Molocoes. What the strength of the Spaniard in the Moluccoes (by sea) was, at the time of this pretended feare, may appeare by the exploits before-mentioned, done upon them by the Curricuries of the Tenatans, without helpe of the Hollanders. But for the default of the English, which is heer odiously alledged, it will be requisite to set downe the true causes wherefore the English relinquished the action of defence, aswel at the Manilliaes, as elsewhere, being a matter much aggravated upon all occasions by the Hollanders, albeit themselves have given the cause thereof. Wherefore briefly, the true motives of the English, there desisting from the action of defence, were as followeth. The English had, by agreement of the Councell of defence, two yeeres together maintaine a Fleet of sixe tall & warlike ships, to ioyne with the like strength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manilliaes, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of seven shippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering upon Chyna, neer the Manilliaes, without giving knowledge thereof to the English at Iaccatra, untill their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that upon such warning it would be impossible for the English to prepare a like force to ioyne with them. To those they appointed also eight Pinaces that were then abroad, to ioyne, and afterwards

sent another ship with provisions unto them. This Fleet passing by two of the English ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manillias, the English welcomed them, and offered to ioyne with them in their exploit. Which the Dutch refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the English should neither partícinate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Councell of defense of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten shippes set forth at the equall charge of the English and Dutch, for the coast of Mallabar, to secure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ships (about a moneth after they set saile) two were found to bee so weake and leak, that they were faine to returne to Iaccatra. The rest being come to their quarter, two of the best of the Dutch ships were sent away by the Dutch Admirall, for the red Sea; contrary to their instructions and commission at Iaccatra from the Councel of defense, and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the English against this prevarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the English and Dutch being thus weakened by the default of the foure Dutch ships aforesaid, the fairest opportunity that ever hapned, either before or since the ioyning of the English and Dutch Companies, or is ever likely to offer it selfe in the future, was lost and utterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the Dutch have to complaine of the English for deserting the action of defense, and what reason and encouragement the English have to continue the ioynt action and charge with those that use so little sincerity, ever contriving the common
actions

actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the ioynt forces are imployed to give the enemie worke in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with ease oppresse them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

The next suspicion that this Author gathereth, is from the insolencies of the Ternatans of Amboyna, dwelling at Loho and Cambello, and thereabouts; who (as this Author saith) presumed now, beyond former exanple, to outrage the subiects of the Dutch, slaying them, and carrying them away for slaves, yea burning two of their houses, one at Loho, & another at Manichells: for which when the Governor went out with a Fleet to crave iustice and reparation, hee was braved by the Ternatans with a stronger Fleet than his owne: yea, they threatned to come with an hundred Curricurries against Amboyna.

This dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treatie of peace with the Tedorians, and truce with the Spaniards. For when the Governour of Amboyna set forth the last Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehension of the English, hee stood on good tearmes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heere mentioned beeing then burnt or iniured. The Governour then went onely according to his yeerely custome, to visit the skirts and out-parts of Amboyna, and had no affront offered him. After that upon occasion of a slave of the English that ranne away, and, being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or neere that part; the English craved assistance of the Dutch Governour: who did his best, but was therein abused by those of Loho; and not only foue of his men

outraged, but the English Factor Master *Beomont* was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and, in stead of him, one of the servants of the Dutch was slain between *Cambello* and *Loho*. The next day also, was *Beomont* himselfe assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the English Factors, that finding the said slave at *Loho*, laid hold on him there. Vpon this occasion, both the English and Dutch left their Factorie at *Loho*, which was shortly after burnt by those *Ternatans*. That other, touching the burning of the Factorie at *Manichells*, is more grossely applyed than the former, for that Factorie was burnt after the English were apprehended: besides that this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at *Amboyna*, that this Factorie at *Manichells* was burnt, not by the *Ternatans*, but by the Dutch Factor himselfe, who, being there alone, was said to have first conveied away the goods of the Dutch & the English there for his owne use, and then to have burnt the Factorie; laying the fact upon the *Ternatans*.

After this indeed, the Governour of *Amboyna* made out a Fleet of *Curricurries*, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braved by those *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the English; and so is as honestly applyed to move suspicion in this place, as the ioint quarrel of the English and Dutch with those of *Loho*, beginning upon occasion of the English: & as the burning of the Factorie at *Manichells*, done after the Eng-
lish

lish were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the Ternatans here mentioned, that they would come with 100. Curricurries against Amboyna, it is (for ought any of the English ever heard) a meere fiction; at most, it was a vaine bragge, and such as could not affright the Governour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans have no gun-powder, nor other provisions, for such an exploit; and yet are far behinde the Governour of Amboyna, for number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch ships and Castles.

The next cause of suspicion, this Author makes to be an idle report in the East parts beyond Banda (uncertaine what, or by whom) that the Hollanders were already quit of their Castle at Amboyna. A poore pretence, and not worthy to be answered: yet still further discovering what penury of good matter this Author had, that he was faine to borrow such crazie stufte.

But the last, and that which alone is expressly applyed to the English, is, That about this time the Dutch understood, that those of Loho and Cambello held great and secret correspondence with the English. How did the Dutch understand this? or why doth not this Author expresse the particular prooffe, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the English had their Factories at Loho and Cambello: but in the same houses with the Dutch, and for their ioint accompt, and had trafficke with the countrey-people, as the Dutch had; but what secret correspondencie is this? or what danger to the Dutch? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the English as well as to the Dutch, a note of good intelligence between the English and the *Incendiaries*? What was that for

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correspondencie with those of Loho, when at one time they way-layed M. *Beumont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the hand with an arrow, offered to kill *William Griggs*, and from time to time abused and outraged our people, equally with, and as the Dutch: Further, our people, as wel as the Dutch, had now dissolved their Factory at Loho, and were come all thence. What Letters or Messages, did they ever send thither afterwards, or how, and by what means maintained they this correspondence? Yet this was understood, saith this Relation. How understood? Perhaps by the Governors dreams: for that (as hee afterwards told M. *Welden hill*, and *Cattwright*, that came thither from Banda) was a motive to him to examine the first Iapon; which was the beginning of the whole Processe.

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The Author, having thus quit himselfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it selfe, first setting down the occasion and matter of the discoverie of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the Iapons, and of the English: but he maketh no mention of any torture used upon the Iapons that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that Iapon; but onely his curious questioning touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* and cause it was to torture a Souldier of their owne, that, serving them, had reason to desire to understand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid hee might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter, is easily to be iudged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his country-men were tortured, appeareth

appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what maner and kinde of questions, this and the other Iapons were ledde along in their confessions, to make up the plot iust as the Dutch had devised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the English both, confessed what the Dutch would have them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *Etiā innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what liklyhood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed as is here related) may appeare by that which hath beene already discoursed in this point, towards the end of the English relation; which for brevitie sake is here forborne to bee repeated. Yet some circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the English, deserve here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger & negotiator of this practice with the Iapons. It is true, that hee (and hee alone of all the English) had some kinde of conversation with some of the Iapons: that is, he would dice and drink with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also. But is it credible, that *M. Tower*son would commit any thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched sot, who also (as the English that were there, constantly report) threatned to cut his, the said *Tower*sons, thraot, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confesse, that all the English Marchants in the out-Factories, were privie and accessarie to this pretended treason: Yet the Governour and Fiscall in their owne

processe found *John Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and two others guiltlesse.

H After *Price* his confession, he sets downe the generall substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned Master *Towersen* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells us, that they made doubt of the point of possibilitie, as well as they might knowing the weaknes of their owne part, and impregnable strength of the Dutch, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, M. *Towersen* told them that hee had already won the Iapons within the Castle to his purpose, and that he would attempt this matter, not when the Dutch were at their full strength, and the English at the weakest, but would expect till the Governor should bee some where abroad upon some exploit, and some English ships, or ship at least, at *Amboyna*, the people whereof hee would use in the enterprize. Likewise, he would send for the Factors and slaves of the other Factories, and should have a supply from the *Ternatans* of *Lohor*, of certaine *Curricuries*, &c.

I Here he hath inrolled a goodly armie for this action, but let us see the manner how they should have executed their exploit. And first for the Iapons in the Castel, we must beleieve, if this author or his voucher say true, that Master *Towersen* had acquainted those, and wonne them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his owne country-men the English. And yet in the acts of the processe, *Emanuel Tomson* is recorded to have confessed, that eight dayes after the consultation, Master *Towersen* told him, that hee had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to goe with the

Iapons, and winne their consent to this enterprife. But what should these (being all but ten) have done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master *Tower-son* had ordeined, that eight of them should have bin bestowed, by two in a company, upon the foure points of the Castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must bee (therefore) here imagined, that the Dutch and their *Mardikers* in their Castle, being three or 2. hundred, would scorne to take the advantage of sending fortie or fiftie, much more of an intire company, to any point of the Castle, but would combat with the Iapons at even hand by two at a time, and so give the Iapons leave & respite to kill or take them by two, & by two. A sweet conceit! and such a service as perhaps hath bin sometimes represented upon a stage, but never acted in surprize of a Castle in good earnest. Thus we see how eight of the Iapons were to bee employed; what should the other two have done? forsooth they should have waited in the great chamber to murder the Governor. Yea, but this relation told us yee while, that this plot should have beene executed when the Governor was abroad upon some action. How then should these two Iapons have killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But wee see how all the Iapons (that is, all the pretended partie of the English within the Castle) should have beene occupied. Who should have opened the gates to the English, and their other aydes? who should have killed the Court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let us take a review of them, what they were. The relation mustereth them to be fourteene English, where

of eleven were Marchants, one Steward of the house, one Taylor, and one Barber, to dresse the wounded, besides God knowes how many English shippers, slaves, and Ternatans. First, for the English Marchants, of what dexteritie they are to take Forts is easily iudged; and in all the English house when it was seized by the Dutch, upon this pretended treason, the whole provision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about halfe a pound of powder. Yea but the English ship or ships would have brought both fitter men and better provision. But how knew Master *Tower*son that those of the English ships, when they came, would ioiue with him in this worke being so contrary to the Treatie, and it selfe so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the plot til this ship or ships were come, that he might sweare the shippers also, or at least the cheife Officers amongst them, and take their advice? Is it possible that Master *Tower*son was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber; and, which is more, to the Iapons, so long before it was to bee put in execution, and before hee knew the mindes of his chiefe assistants, of whose arrivall he was so incertaine? Yea, but he was sure of the slaves of the English, and of the Ternatans of Lobo, with their *Carriacurries in quemlibet eventum*. This indeed is the remainder of the Armie; let us view them. The slaves were, in all the English Factories, iust sixe in number, and all boyes: the Ternatans were enemies aswell to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preamble. When were they reconciled? how commeth it, that in all the examinations of the English,

lish, this point was not sifted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many tortures? There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and *M. Tower-son* in his expressely denied it and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Governour and Fiscall of Amboyna knew, that what-ever had beene confessed in this point, would not have beene beleev'd by their owne people there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the Dutch and Ternatans at Loho, was about the slave of the English: and the outrages thereupon following, were done upon the English, aswell as upon the Dutch. Yet this Author seemes to hope, that that may be beleev'd here in Europe, which had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was (as the relation saith) not yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conspirators, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Tower-son* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainly a hot practise of treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Author An horrible conspiracy. They met together on New yeares day, and plotted as it is before related: and now it was the five and twentieth of February, and not only nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the vniforme confession of all the English, by themselves severally subscribed. In the next place the Author relateth somewhat singular in *M. Tower-son's* confession, as that he said, he was moved to this fact by hope and desire of honour & profit: and being demanded from whom hee attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle, his answer was, That if he could have compassed

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his proiect, he would forthwith have given advertisement thereof to the rest of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they have christianed Batavia,) and have craved their aid: which if they had yeeked him, then hee would have held the Castle for the English Company; and if not, then hee would have kept it for himselfe, and have used meanes to have agreed with the Indians: and so, by the one means or other, would have compassed the enterprise.

Here first is to be observed, that he would not (as this Author makes him speake) have sent for ayd to Iaccatra, untill hee were first Master of the Castle: and yet in the generall confession before, it is said, he would attend the coming of some English shippes or ship, before hee would adventure upon the Castle. Next, let the ambiguous and alternative resolution, heer said to be confessed by *M. Tamerison*, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appeare, that no man in his wits would have any such conceit as is heer pretended. What hope could *M. Tamerison* have that the President and English Councell at Iaccatra, living under command of the Dutch Fort there, and altogether subject to the Hollanders, durst joyne in any such action, thereby to give occasion to the Hollanders to arrest, torture, and condemn them of treason? *M. Tamerison* knew well enough, that about six moneths before, the Generall of the Dutch at Iaccatra, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the English President there: who having sent out two of his people in the night to the English Cow-house, to see what watch the Blacks in their service kept over their cattell, the said two English were apprehended by the Dutch souldiers, kept in prison seven daye and

and charged, that they had said that they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the Balieu (the officer of the Dutch in criminal causes, y^e that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the Round, and that by the English Presidents commission, and if he would not confesse the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture, yet this was *truenough* to the English President and Councell, how the intent of the Dutch was to entrap them upon the least occasion: and this, and other daily capricious dealings of the Dutch at Iaccatra, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised from time to time to M. *Towerfon*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, *that were themselves* in such a predicament. The other part of M. *Towerfon's* resolution is said to have been, To keep the Castle for himselfe, and to agree with the Indians, in default of help from the English. This is yet more improbable than the former. Were the Portugals and Indians not able to keep out the Dutch from Amboyna, when they had no footing there, and shall Captaine *Towerfon*, with twenty or thirty English and Iapons, without Ship or Pinace, be able, with the help only of the poor naked Indians, to drive them out, having already three Castles in the Ilands of Amboyna, and at Cambello hardby, all well furnished with men and provision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea: And yet how could M. *Towerfon* hope to winne the Amboynezes (the Hollanders sworn subiects) to his side? He might rather assure himselfe, that after he had mastered the

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleev'd to be possible) the Amboynees would have surpris'd him, and cast him out (being so weakly provided to stand of himselfe;) than so they might brierly free themselves from their servitude. Here also must be remembred, that this Author himselfe in his preamble saith, that the Indians themselves durst not undertake any such great fight (as he there seipeth) against the State of Amboyna, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of Spaniards, Portugals, or some other. Wherby is not obely confessed, how weak the Indians of themselves are; but withall it followeth, how small hope *M. Towerfon* might have, being deserted of his owne Nation (as heer the case is put) to hold the Castle for himselfe by the help of those Indians, if yet hee could once have wonne it. In a word, they that know the power of the Hollanders in Amboyna and thereabouts, and the weaknesse of the poore Indians there, will iudge this conceit of *M. Towerfon's* (To keepe the Castle for himselfe) to be a mad plot, and for which, *M. Towerfon* should rather have been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dallen Rist* (as the Dutch call it) than to the Gallows.

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But this Author hath one voluntary confession, upon which he taketh speciall hold; to wit, that *M. Towerfon*, after his examination was finished, being expostulated withall by the Dutch Governour, and demanded whether this should have been the recompence of his (the Governours) manifold courtisies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to doe, it should never bee done. "This voluntary confession and penitent acknowledgement," saith this Author, was made the ninth

" of

of March, being the day when the execution was to be done: but the examination of *Towerfon* was ended the eight and twentieth of February, so many daies before. But how shall we beleewe this? Forsooth, hee hath cut out of the Acts of the Processe of *Amboyna*. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many materiall passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guilty of addition, as well as of such mutilation, and omission? But let us peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are these.

WHE whose names are hereunto subscribed, do declare upon our truth, in stead of an oath, that *Gabriel Towerfon*, after that hee had bene already examined touching his said offence, and that the worshipfull Governor *Van Speule* had expostulated with him there upon, asking him whether this should have bene the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed unto him, the said *Towerfon*: thereupon hee, the said *Towerfon*, with a deep sigh answered him, and said, O! if this were, to bee begunne againe, it should never be done. Actum this ninth of March, in the Castle of *Amboyna*, and subscribed.

Harman van Speult,

Laurence de Maerschalck.

Clement Kersseboom.

Harman Crayevanger.

Peter van Zanten.

Leonart Clocq.

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended, voluntarie confession of *M. Towerfon*; which is not delivered

livered upon the credite of the Court or, Councell at Amboyna (and yet how small that is, is before thewed) but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governour and five others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not upon their oath, but upon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) in stead of an oath. The time when these words were uttered by *M. Tamerfon*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not only an usuall and customary solemnity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in a businesse of this nature altogether necessarie, as likewise in this case, that of the place is. For if these words were spoken in the place of torture, or indolently after the examination ended, they are by their owne law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession upon the Racke is false. Neither yet doth this Attestation affirme, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Author, unconscionably reporting the date of the Attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntarie, because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination, which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done upon the very day when he maketh Affidavit? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by *M. Tamerfon* after he had bin already examined. Why may not that have beene rather upon the very day of his examination, than upon the day when this Act was entered; if yet he ever spake any such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted to the contrary

rie whereof is the more probable, by all the circumstances of this businesse, truly set downe in the Relation of the English.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towersons* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary confession; it is plain how distitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and concluding circumstances. What was there not a letter or other paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the English; so suddenly seized at Amboyna, Larica, Hitro, and Cambello, to discover this treason? nor amongst so many complices of divers nations, a false biother to betray the rest; and accuse them voluntarily; but the proceſſe must begin with the torture, & the Heathens confession upon torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to torture: the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Pride* was) to draw torture upon the sober, orderly, and unstained. And yet this Relation it selfe confesseth, that *Pride's* confession was drawne from him by the Examiners specifying of place, persons, and time unto him. Certainly one of their owne Nation had reason to advise, that more Advocates might be sent over to the Indies, to ayde the accused, to make a legal answer. For, saith he, they goe to worke there so villanously and murtherously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heaven for vengeance.

Demonstration to the Lords Statrs, touching the government of the Maiores.

But why have we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Pride* and M. *Towerson*, and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellows, or confesse more

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than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that hee was at Amboyna upon New-yeares day, when ten or twelve of the Dutch themselves witnessed he was at Hitto? Where is his confession of *Clarks* plot to go to Maccassar, to deale with the Spaniards there to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two moneths and a halfe before his examination, undertaken by *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himselfe? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had beene as many severall treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deale more of this kind, which is here in England proved by the oath of six credible persons, to have passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the Dutch at Amboyna have entred the Acts of this proceffe. Well, at last he concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing up of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, hee saith, were ten Iapons, foure-teene English, and the Netherlandish Marnicho, or Captaine of the Slaves. By which last words, hee would give the Reader occasion to thinke, that the fact was so cleere, and their owne proceeding so even and iust, that they had executed owne of their owne Neatherlanders for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the English Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the Portugall race, and born in Bengala. His very name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

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Having thus finished this relation, this Authour pro-

proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice of some aspersions in England cast upon these proceedings at Amboyna, he divideth them into two heads, the one, that the processe was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excesse and extremitie used against the Conspirators. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great paines to proove, that the formalities of processe in Amboyna, are not therefore unlawfull, because they agree not with our forme in England. Which labour he might have spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the Dutch for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also hee deduceth the title of the Lords States generall to the Soveraigntie of Amboyna; and so the Governour of Amboynaes iurisdiction, in causes as well criminall as civil, to bee rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the Iapons being sworne servants to the Dutch, and in their pay, were subiect to the iurisdiction of the Dutch Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Authors and complices of murther and reason, are by the lawes of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may bee granted him without any prejudice to the cause of the English in this question.

At last he comes in perticular to their case, and affirms, that the chiefe of the English there might not apprehend the English complices of this conspiracy, because themselves were complices of the fact. Which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, & safe custodie: but how it may proceed al-

so in the point of connufance; shall bee anon in due place examined.

In the meane time, this Authour, to make the point of apprehension cleere beyond exception, saith, that the English were nor apprehended upon the first fufpicion; when yet there was evidence, and *indicia* fufficient to doe it; but after the examination of all the Iapons and their ioynt confefion, that the English, whom they fpecified by name and furname, had moved and hired them to this treason: yea, nor untill *Abel Price* had alfo confefled as much, and that all the English in the out Factories were privie there unto. For answer hereof, that must bee repeated which hath beene upon other occasion before alleaged, that the first beginning of the proceffe, was by the torture, there being no fufficient evidence, or *indicium* to torture the Iapon, that onely fought to enforme himfelfe of the course of the Watch, and of the ftrength of the Castle, wherein himfelfe was a fouldier: and fo the whole *Serees* of the examination proceeding from the confefion of one tortured person, to apprehend and torture another, without other evidence; though it brought forth more confefions, and thofe with name and furname, and other circumftances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Governour and Fiscall led the prifoners, was wholly againft the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

Scilicet infabrica fi prava est regula prima.

Cetera mendose fieri atque obftipa necesse est.

But here must be answered an obiection that may be made againft this, from another part of this relation,

on, that is, that some of the English confessed with-
out or before torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned,
was either not tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea
but he was shewed the tortured bodyes of the poore
Lapons, martyred with fire and water, and told, that
unlesse he would confesse that which they told him
they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill,
or worse than they. This feare of torture is by their
owne law, equalled to the torture it selfe, and con-
sequently, the confession thereupon made no better
indicium or evidence to bring another man to the
torture, than the confession made upon the racke it
selfe. Againe, it must bee here remembred, that the
very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned,
to wit, that all the English Merchants of the out Fa-
ctories, were privie to the pretended treason; was re-
futed by the processe of the Dutch themselves, that
found *Powle*, *Ramsay*, and two others of those Facto-
ries guiltlesse.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection
made in England against the iurisdiction of the
Dutch Governour, and his Councell at Amboyna,
over the English there, because this power is, by the
Treatie of the yeare, 1619. disposed of, and agreed
to consist in the Councell of defence of both nati-
ons at Iaccatra. For information in which point this
Author saith, he hath perused over all the severall
articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23.
article, that the Fortresses were to remaine in the
hands of them that then possessed them; and in the
thirteenth, fourteenth, and fiftenth, that the Coun-
cell of defence hath no other power, but onely over
the Fleet of defence, over the commerce, and final-

ly, to taxe the charges of maintenance of the Forts : But he could not see the thirtieth article, which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should bee remitted into Europe ; first, to the two companies there, and in default of their agreement, to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in ? There is nothing in the former articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall article appeareth to be added by way of ampliacion, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth article, agreed-upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An. 1619.* where this course of proceeding is expressly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common abroad. Since which also the kings Majesty hath, upon a smaler occasion then the life of his subiects, cleerly declared himself in the point of Sovereignty, that both nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof over each other. Which declaration was sent to the Lords States Generall, and by them accepted before this bloody butchery was executed.

But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Holâders is *Amboyna* are bound to observe the lawes of the united Provinces, for so saith this author himselfe. Do these allow to begin the proceffe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the racke; vpon others confession made in the torture :

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Doe their lawes allow of the leading interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to avoide the torture? Where, in the vnited Provinces, is that drowning with water, in use? or the torture with fire, used to *Iohnson, Tomson, and Clarke*? or especially the splitting of the toes, and launcing of the breast, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clarke* and *Tomson* were both saine to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictory, apparently false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to have beene beleevd, nor the prisoners to have beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or evidence besides.

In the last place, this Authour handleth the excesse of torture whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England, and saith, That the Lords States generall take great care to enforme themselves of all the passages of this businesse; and to that end have desired to see all the letters, peeces, and papers that concerne this processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture used. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any marvell that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous processe, being themselves the persons that also formed the acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, have omitted many things of their processe,

celle, against the poore, Polaroones, whom in August, 1622. being about six moneths before this execution of the English, their Governour there used in like sort, as the Governour of Amboyna did the English, and gave him a modell and precedent of this processe. Which it will not bee amisse to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place, alleadgeth the merciful disposition of the Netherlands nation in general, to inferre thence, that it is unlikely, that their Governour at Amboyna was so cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon, one of the Hands of Banda, was in possession of the English at the time of the treaty, Anno 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the treaty, came unto the Indies, the Hollanders forbore publishing thereof in the Islands of Banda, untill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it must be restored againe, according to the treaty, they first take all courses to make the Island little or nothing worth: they demollish & deface the Buildings, transplant the Nutmeg-tree, plucking them up by the roots, and carrying them into their owne Islands of Nera and of Poloway, there to bee planted for themselves, and at last find a means to depopulate the Island, and to leave it so, as the English might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man, the son of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed felony; For which, by the Lawes of his Country, he was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another Island of Banda, called Rosising, and there named Christian: but quickly understanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, he

hee went back seeretty to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, having lurked there a few daies, tooke his passage for Nera, another Island where the Dutch have a Fort; and told the Dutch Governour, that the Orankeys of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch, as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with help of the people of Seran, that should send over thirtie Curricurties for that purpose. Immediately upon this *indicium* of this malefactor, certaine Prows or Fisher-boats of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the Dutch Governor to Polaroon, that the Orankeys should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the Polaroons and sevenie Orankeyes instantly took a Prow or small vessell of their owne, and imbarked themselves for Poloway. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Neverthelesse, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to have escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocency, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, as soone as they were arrived, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Governor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence hee fetched all the rest of the Orankeys, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were comne, they were presently brought to the torture of

water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterwards at Amboyna, onely herein differing, that of those at Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their torture: the rest, being one hundred sixty two persons, were all, upon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poore, black and white, look to it: we have committed no fault. And when hee would have spoken more, he was taken by the hands & feet, laid along, & cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the wives children, ann slaves of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so have made a cleere Countrey for the English, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the Country-people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their trade in the Indies. And yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neatherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves that have committed those barbarous tyrannies: Who, if wee shal beleeeve an Authour of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Author sayes) use the Indies as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their unruly & unthrifty children & kindred: whom when the cannot rule & order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred, to offices and places of governement. Yea saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as never saw study nor law. So that it is no marvell, that such persons proceed

not

*Noortwendich
Discours,*
printed Ann.
1622. under
the name of
Ymant van
Waermond

not with that iustice and moderation as is used generally in the Low Countries, by the choyce of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credit, that came lately from Amboyna; who averre, that, excepting the Governour himselfe, who is well stept in yeares, of the rest of the Councel there, as wel the Fiscall as others, there was scarce any that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons, and yet must be Iudges as well of our English, as the poor Indians there.

Now to returne to this Authors proofes, that there was no excesse used in the proceedings, at the last he taketh one argument by way of comparison, from the Law of England to presse men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, used by the Dutch in Amboyna, and is holden, as well by some Authors of our owne Nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of Pressing alleaged, for iustifying of their tortures, since no man in England is pressed for not confessing, which is the cause of torture in Dutchland? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the tryall of his countrey, and challengeth the Iudges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him: which he doth (for the most part) to save his goods, which, but by that ordinary course of tryall, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusall whereof, the Dutch use the Torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their countrey herein; nor yet in their execution, when they breake the legges, armes and thighes of the ma-

lesactors, and then set them upon a wheele on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death: an execution farre more direfull than the English pressing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldome used. But why doth hee not name the Author of our owne or foraine Writers, which condemne this kinde of execution? Let him doe it yet, and he shall have moe Authors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their course of tortures: and yet the English complaine not of the course in generall, but of the unlawfull use of it; contrary to the rules of the Lawes even of the United Provinces. Lastly, in this point the Author pretendeth, that little or no torture was used in this Processe. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the English relation: but he can finde little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers of Amboyna, have conceal'd it? shall we not beleeeve, those that suffered it themselves? shall we not beleeeve those, that beeing themselves acquitted, yet heard the cries, and saw the bodies of *Johnson, Clarke, and Tomson*, and have confirmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As for the Act of the five & twentieth of February, which this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot bee a true act: for therein it is said, that that day all the English were examined one by one, and some before torture, and some after confessed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the English Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same five and twentieth day of February; but that the examination continued six daies together, even to the third of March inclusive. How then could the Act of the five and twentieth of Febru-

February have all their confessions? By this may appeare, what credit may be given to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tels us of the deliberation of their Councell; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause removed: wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake: and might not be respited, for feare lest the conspirators (as he tearmes them) might have more dependances than yet were knowne, and in particular, the Ternatans and other Indians about Amboyna. A poore pretext: as if, having all the English in irons aboard their severall ships, they should need to fear their ioyning with the Ternatans. But it may be, they feared some English ships also to come thither: for so they had made their owne people beleieve. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the Dutch and their free Burghers cried out, That there were the English that should have holpen to take the Castle: but when they arrived, they proved to bee two shippes of the Hollanders, come from Iaccatra: wherein was a Letter from the President of the English there, to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the English from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Governour, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed, and might well have secured him, that there was no further danger to be feared of the English aide of shipping, what-ever the English prisoners had through torture confessed.

At last the Author comes to the sentence it selfe, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March, That the Colledge of Iudges being then Competent,

and calling upon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly, to preside in their hearts, and inspire them with equity and iustice, proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no prayer at all made? or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings well weighed, will shew it to be but like *Iezabels* Fast, the preparative to the false judgement against *Naboth*. Neyther will the wise and indifferent Iudges of this whole matter, conceive the better of the cause, for the hypocriticall formalities therein observed.

S Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a iustification, yea an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna against the English; not finding the least to be blamed in the Dutch, but aggravating the crime of the English very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot among other things, was against the wealth & advantage of the Netherlands East India company: as if a conspiracy of this kinde (if any such had bin) must needs bee treason; or as if the intent onely in any crime but treason, were cappitall.

Thus have we examined this strained iustification of that most barbarous and execrable processe of Amboyna; consisting of a preamble, full of false and forged suspicions; a narrarion of the fact, fraught with ridiculous, absurdities, contrarieties, and impossibilities; & lastly, of a dispute of impertinences, with concealment of the maine grounds of the English griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papiian*, That Parricides are more easily committed than defended.

A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE VNIVST,
CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS
against the ENGLISH at

AMBOYNA

In the EAST-INDIES, *by the Ne-*
therlandish GOVERNOR and
COUNCELL *there.*

Also the copy of a Pamphlet, set forth first
in Dutch and then in English, by some

Netherlander; falsely intituled,

A TRUE DECLARATION OF THE
Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES with
the Pinace called the HARE, which ar-
rived at TEXEL in Iune, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

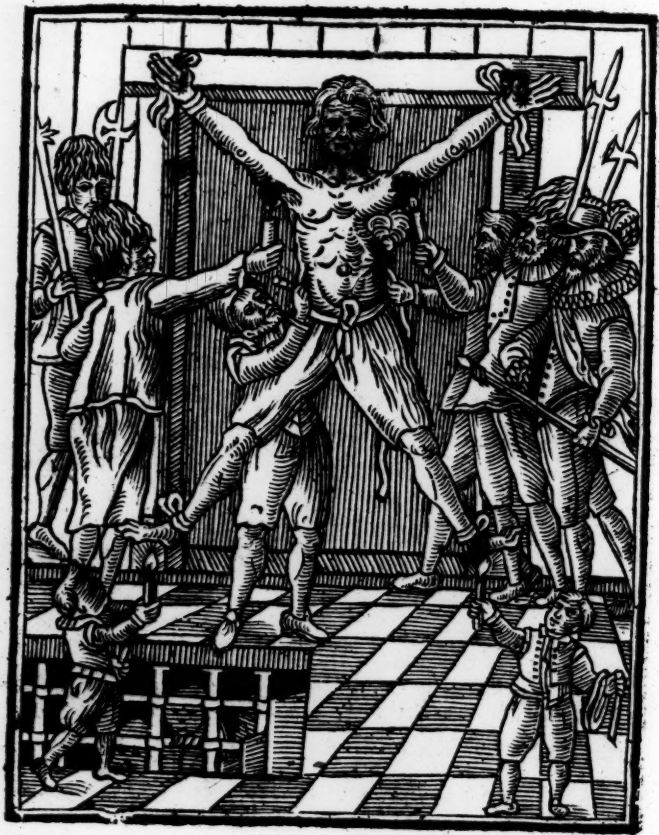
By the English EAST-INDIA Company.

THE THIRD IMPRESSION.

Published by AUTHORITY.

LONDON,

Printed by G. Purshove for Nathaniel Newberry, 1632.



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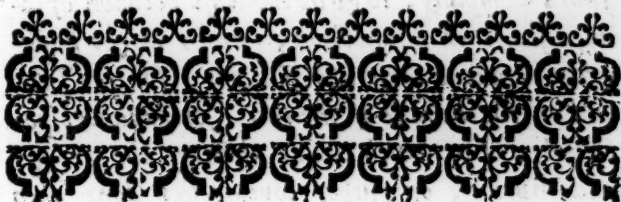
LONDON,
Printed by G. Purflove for Nathaniel Newberry, 1632.

OF THE VILLYS

17780
17781
17782

RAYONNA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED



TO THE READER.



Entle Reader, thou mayst
(perhaps) wonder why this
Relation of the businesse of
Amboyna, so many months
since taken upon the oathes
and depositions of our people
that came thence, and pre-
sented to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Pri-
vie Councell; cometh now at last to the Presse,
and was not either sooner published, or attoge-
ther suppressed. The truth is, the English East-
India Company have ever been very tender of
the ancient amity and good correspondence held
between this Realme and the Netherlands, and
have been very loth, by divulging of the private
injuries done them by the Netherlands East-
India

To the Reader.

India Company, to give the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply grow betweene these two Nations, for the sake and on the behalfe of the two Companies respectively. For which cause, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies done unto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, have beene as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heapes of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the yeere 1619. and only to point at the generall heads of those committed since that Treaty, and grossely contrary to the maine intent, and expresse words and disposition of the same: first, in the point of hostility; the invasion of the Islands of Lantore and Polarooone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the same Islands by force; the razing and demollishing of the English Forts; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently have dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rockes; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcases away in Irons: secondly, in the

To the Reader.

point of their usurped sovereignty; their taking upon them the Conscience of controversies between the English and the Indians, for matters passed farre without the compasse of the Netherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences thereupon by plain force; seazing of the English Companies goods; fining, imprisoning, stoaking, yea, whipping our people at a post in the open Market-place, and after, washing them with vinegar and salt: thirdly, in point of partnership with the English; there putting great sums to the common account, which were disbursed to the private and sole behoofe of the Dutch; giving great Presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making warre for the enlargement of their owne dominion, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: Nevertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselves with informing his Majestie and his Honourable Privie Councell with their grievances privately in writing, to the end that necessary reliefe and reparation might be obtained, without publishing anything to the world in print, thereby to stirre up or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise eyed in so many re-

To the Reader

reciprocal obligations. And the same course they have hitherto holden also in the crying business of Amboyna, namely offering to the Manners of their murdered Countrymen, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectually endeavours in a dutifull course unto his Majesty for justice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the Nation therein interested. In which their wonted way they were so constant, that they could not be driven out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet in print in the Netherlands Language, not only in justification of this barbarous butchery, but withall in disgrace of the English Nation, and the lawes and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same Pamphlet, being called in by an Edict of the States generall, was yet afterwards translated and printed in English, and dispersed even in this Realme it selfe, to braue and disgrace us at our own doores, and in our own language. This, no English patience can beare: the blood of the innocent cries out against it: the honor of the nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the English East-India Company is hereby enforced, contrary to their desire and custome, to have recourse also to the Presse, to main-

To the Reader.

tain the reputation of those their Countrey-men and servants, that lost their lives unjustly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cause; hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty conceivances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients the Governour & Council (so termed) of Amboyna.

Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this businesse was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which common reason will suggest unto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true patriote of thine owne Countrey, and a well-willer of the Netherlands (as wee presume and wish thee to be,) thou wilt wonder how it cometh to passe, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receive such disgraces, should now be so weak & unprovided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grossly overtopped, outraged & vilified there: as also thou wilt not lesse admire, that any of the Netherlands Nation, which hath received such and so many favours and supports from hence, and held so good and ancient correspondence with our Nation, should now offer and commit such odious & unbecomings on Englishmen, their partners & allies by speciall Treaties. Herein thou wilt find an answer by

To the Reader.

selfe, if thou but consider the difference and designe of the English and Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their severall course and practise respectively. The English being subjects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne, and is therewith content, without affecting of new conquests; haue aimed at nothing in their East-India trade, but a lawfull and competent gaine by commerce and trafficke with the people of those parts. And although they haue in some places builded Forts, and seiled some strength, yet that hath not been done by force or violence, against the good will of the Magistrates or people of the countrey; but with their desire, consent and good liking, for the security only of the Trade, and upon the said Magistrate and peoples voluntary yielding themselves under the obedience and sovereignty of the Crown of England; their owne ancient lawes, customes and priuiledges, neuertheless reserved. Further, the same English had undoubted confidence in the Netherlands Nation there also trading, especially being lately conjoynd with them in the strict alliance and sociall confederacy of the yeere 1619. and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnership. Upon these grounds, the English Company made their equipages, and were able to

a course of commerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Neetherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a faire & free commerce, invaded diuers Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By reason whereof, as they were accordingly provided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike provision, as also of places of Rendezvous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English as well as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts and Souldiers, imployed upon these designs, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the Trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Ad-venturers in their Company affirme) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and aduentsures they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the ycer, 1619.

To the Reader.

yet they saw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, unlesse they utterly draue the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to haue the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain & promote their conquests, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefite of their trading. Which unlesse they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the English, bring to passe, it is easie to be judged by those that understand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returns hereafter should proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the main stock and estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yeerly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made us unprovided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their seruants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firme affection between these two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their neereest allies and best-deseruing friends. Farewell.



A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE LATE VN-
IVST, CRVELL AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST

the *English* at AMBOYNA in the *East-Indies*,

by the *Neatherlanders* there, upon a for-
ged pretence of a Conspiracy
of the said *English*.



After the fruitlesse issue of
two severall Treaties: the
first *An. 1613.* in *London*;
and the other, *An. 1615.*
at the *Hage* in *Holland*, tou-
ching the differences be-
tweene the *English* and
Dutch in the *East-Indies*:
at last by a third Treaty,
Anno 1619. in *London*,

there was a full and solemn composition made of all
the said differences and a faire order set for the future
proceeding.

ceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the Hollanders in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Moluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the Spaniards and Portugals, and in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therefore should enjoy two third parts, of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by taxes and impositions, to bee levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East-India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Moluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present, small occasion to speake further; but the last will prove the Scene of a sad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Island lying neere *Seran* of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name also to some other smal Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves, for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Company for their part had planted five severall Factories, the head and *Rendevous* of all, at the Town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriel Towerfon*, their Agents, with directions over the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Cambello* and *Lobo*, upon a point of the neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Vpon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of
Seran,

Seran, the Hollanders have foure Forts: the chief of al is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong having foure Points or Bulwarks with their curtains, and upon each of these Points, six great peeces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of brasfe. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea; and the other is divided from the land with a ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deep, and ever filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about 200. Dutch souldiers, and a company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwaies a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for so they cal the free Natives) in the Town, ready to serve the Castle at an houres warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) divers good ships of the Hollanders, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of traffick; this being the chief *rendevouz* as well for the Islands of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Heere the English lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Town: holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treaty before-mentioned.

They continued here some two yeers, conversing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the said Treaty. In which time there fell out sundry differences and debates betweene them; the English complainning, that the Hollanders did not onely lavish away much money in building, and unnecessary expences upon the Forts and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt: but also did, for their part,

pay the Garrisons with victuals and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Island of *Iava Maior*, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference sent the same hither over into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here, or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords the States General, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619, on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily increased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of February, 1622. *Stilo Veteri*, a *Iapon* Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Iapons* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did for the most part, serve the Dutch as souldiers, yet were

not of their trusty bands, alwaies lodged in the castle but upon occasion called out of the town, to assist in the Watch. This *Iapon* aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Sentinell, apprehended upon suspicion of treason, and put to the torture. Thereby (as some of the Dutch affirmed) he was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his country-men there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Heereupon, other *Iapons* were examined and tortured, as also a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure daies, some of the Englishmen went to and from the Castle upon their businesse, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves; having never had any conversation with the *Iapons*, nor with the Portugall aforesaid. At the same time there was one *Abel Price* *Abel Price* Chirurgion of the English, prisoner in the Castle, *examined,* for offering in his drunkenness to set a Dutch-mans house on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and shewed him some of the *Iapons*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, & told him, they had confessed the English to have been of their confederacy, for the taking of the Castle; & that if he would not confesse the same, they would use him even as they had done these *Iapons*, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soone made him confesse what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri.* Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the same morning, they sent for Cap-

raigne Towerfon, and the rest of the English that were in the Town, to come and speak with the Governor in the Castle. They all went, save one that was left to keep the house. Being come to the Governor, he told *Captain Towerfon*, that himself and others of his Nation were accused of a conspiracy to surprize the Castle, and therefore, untill further triall, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, took the merchandize of the English Company there into their own custody by Inventory, & seized all the chests, boxes, books, writings, & other things in the English house. *Captaine Towerfon* was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch souldiers: *Emanuel Tomson* was kept prisoner in the Castle: the rest, viz. *John Beamont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Wehber*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Timothie Johnson*, *John Fardo* & *Robert Brown*, were sent aboard the *Hollanders* ships then riding in harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governor sent to the two other Factories in the same Island to apprehend the rest of the English there. So that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the factory at *Hitto*, and *William Grigs*, and *John Sadler* at *Larico*, were all brought prisoners to *Ambayna* the sixteenth of February. Vpon which day also *John Bowle*, *John Wehberall*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, were apprehended at *Cambello*, and brought in iron untill *Ambayna*, the twentieth of the same month. In the meane time, the Governour and Fiscall went to worke with the prisoners that were already there. And first they sent for *John Beamont*, and

and *Timothy Johnson*, from aboard the *Vnicorn*; who being come into the Castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pittifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taste of the torture *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is above-remembred,) was brought into confront and accuse him. But *Johnson* not yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after he had been about an houre in this second examination, hee was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by-place of the Hall, with a Souldier to watch him, that he should speak with nobody. Then *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Johnson* had beene, but in another something farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the Hall heard him roare most lamentably, and many times. At last after an houre and an halfe spent in torturing him, he was caried away into another roome another way; so that he came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and beeing demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured; a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their larres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Governor bade loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

*Emanuel
Tomson
examined.*

fifteenth of February aforeſaid.

Vpon Sunday the ſixteenth of February, *williams Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramſey, and Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon, William Griggs, and Iohn Clarke, George Sharrock, and Iohn Sadler*, from *Hitto and Larica*, and were immediately, upon their arrivall, brought into the Caſtle-Hall.

*Robert
Browne
examined.
Edward
Collins
examined.*

Robert Browne Tailor was firſt called in; and being tormented with water, confeſſed all in order as the Fiſcall asked him.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that thoſe that were formerly examined, had confeſt him as acceſſary to the plot of taking the Caſtle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feete faſt to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſſe all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and proteſted his innocency, yet ſaid, that becauſe he knew that they would by torture make him confeſſe any thing, though never ſo falſe, they ſhould do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him ſay, and he would ſpeake it, to avoide the torture. The Fiſcall hereupon ſaid, What do you mocke us? and bade, up with him againe: and ſo gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to indure, prayed to be let downe againe to his confeſſion. Then he deviſed a little with himſelfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himſelfe, *Tomſon, Iohnſon, Browne, and Farde*, had plotted, with the helpe of the *Japons*, to

surprise the Castle. Heere he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether Captaine *Towerson* were not of that conspiracy. Hee answered, No. You lye, said the Fiscall: did not he call you all to him; and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *Iohn Iooft* that stood by, Did not you all sweare upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great othes, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this plot. He answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the English at *Iaccatra*, or *M. welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not plotters or privie to this businesse. Againe he answered, no. Then the Fiscall asked him, by what meanes the *Iaponers* should have executed their purpose. Whereat when *Collins* stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, Should not two *Iaponers* have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governors chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Governour comming to see what was the matter, the *Iaponers* to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscall, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall without attending the answer to his former question, asked what the *Iapons* should have had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000. Ryalls apeece. Lastly, he asked him, when